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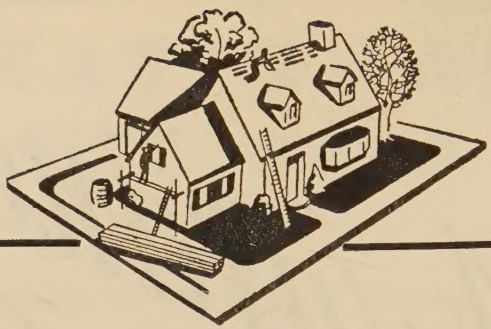

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A COMPARISON OF THE EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE TWENTY-SIX AND SIX COUNTIES OF IRELAND: 1924-1949

BY LABHRÁS Ó NUALLÁIN, M.ECON.SC.

[*People on both sides of the Border welcomed warmly the decision of the Government of the Republic and the Government of Northern Ireland to purchase jointly the G.N. Railway and the Foyle Fisheries and to co-operate in the Erne Hydro-electric Scheme. These decisions were amongst the most hopeful signs of a new spirit of mutual help and understanding. Until such understanding becomes more widespread, there is little chance of achieving a satisfactory solution of the Partition problem.*

We hope that the following detailed study of the economies of both North and South with its special emphasis on their present inter-relation will provide the basis for intelligent planning of further co-operation.

Editor]

THE year 1924 is the first year for which separate trade figures for the Twenty-Six and Six Counties have been published. No trade statistics for either part of Ireland were published for the years 1922 and 1923. The statistics for 1921 and previous years, back to 1904, related to the whole of Ireland, and were compiled by the British Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction from certain returns furnished by the harbour authorities and shipping companies. Hence, Irish trade statistics up to 1921 were incomplete, inaccurate and largely conjectural.

As Britain and the Six Counties form a single fiscal unit, trade between the two areas requires no customs entries. Statistics relating to the external trade of the Six Counties are compiled by the Ministry of Commerce in Belfast from the information supplied by the harbour authorities and shipping companies in the case of cross channel trade, and by the Excise Authorities in the case of direct trade between the Six Counties and other countries. These returns show only the gross weight of the goods, but do not provide any information regarding the value of goods imported and exported. These values are assessed by the Ministry of Commerce on the basis of average prices during the period of assessment. The classification of the goods is also incomplete. The harbour authorities and shipping companies are unable to distinguish between goods imported for consumption in the Six Counties and those for subsequent re-exportation, or, in the case of exports, between goods of Six County origin and

those passing in transit through the area from the Twenty-Six Counties. Consequently, the Six-County import and export figures are both overstated to the extent of the value of the transit trade which, in 1949, amounted to £6.0 million, (£2.9 million in the case of imports and £3.1 million in the case of exports). Hence the total trade of the Six Counties for 1949, officially returned as £352.6 million, included £6.0 million of transit trade. Again, goods imported into the Six Counties and subsequently re-exported after processing in that area or in the Twenty-six Counties, are recorded both in the imports and exports figures. The value of some of these re-exports, such as linen and cotton goods imported from Britain and the Twenty-six Counties for processing and return, is very high. A fair estimate of the combined value of the transit trade and re-exports would be in the neighbourhood of £10 to £15 million per annum. On the other hand, the value of parcel post imports and exports are not included in the Six-County trade statistics, as the values are not definitely known. It has been officially estimated, however, that the total value of this parcel trade in 1949 was about £9 million which, therefore, would go some way towards offsetting the over-statement in respect of the transit trade and re-exports. For our purposes therefore, the total trade figures of the Six Counties for 1949, officially quoted as £352.6 millions, may be accepted.[1]

Since 1924 the trade statistics of the Twenty-six Counties which, by the way, are inclusive of parcel post trade, have been based on customs declarations made by traders at ports south of the border and at border stations; they are consequently much more accurate and comprehensive than the trade statistics of the Six Counties. The bases of classification of commodities are not necessarily identical in both parts of Ireland, but they may be accepted as being roughly comparable. It is with these limitations and qualifications in mind that we now turn to an analysis of the external trade figures of the two parts of Ireland, considering first the general position that obtained during the inter-war years, and secondly, in the post-war period, and in greater detail the position in 1949.

The year 1949 has been selected as the basic year for comparative purposes in the post-war period, as the year which now appears, in retrospect, to have been the most normal of the post-war trading years. The effects of devaluation, in the form of rising import prices, had not been fully experienced up to the end of 1949. Neither was stockpiling as much in evidence, as it was in the following year, 1950. Moreover, the most recent cross-border trade statistics available to the writer were in respect of the year 1949[2].

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[1] Ministry of Commerce. Summary of the trade of N. Ireland, 1947-1949.

[2] For these statistics I am indebted to the Departments of External Affairs and Industry & Commerce.

I.—The Inter-War Period: 1924—1938

A. External Trade of the Twenty-Six Counties

The following table shows the trend in the value of the total trade of the Twenty-six Counties during the period 1924–38.

Table I.

Year	Imports		Re-Exports		Domestic Exports		Total Trade		Balance of trade	
	Value £	Index No. 1924 =100	Value £	Index No. 1924 =100	Value £	Index No. 1924 =100	Value £	Index No. 1924 =100	Value £	Index No. 1924 =100
1924	68,890,391	100	1,303,918	100	49,720,743	100	119,915,052	100	17,865,730	100
1930	56,776,215	82	1,177,555	90	43,767,584	88	101,721,354	85	11,831,076	66
1938	41,414,105	60	363,119	28	23,876,639	48	65,653,809	55	17,174,293	96

Starting from an exceptionally high level in 1924, due to the abnormal number of cattle exported in that year, the value of total trade fell by 45 per cent, from £119,915,052 in 1924 to £65,653,809 in 1938; the greatest rate of decline was experienced between 1930 and 1938. The fall was greatest in the field of domestic exports, which fell off by 52 per cent between 1924 and 1938: from £49,720,743 to £23,876,639. Imports declined by 40 per cent: from £68,890,391 to £41,414,105 during the same period. The visible adverse balance of trade, however, declined only by 4 per cent. The sharp decline in total trade between 1930 and 1938 is a reflection, in part, of the effects of the "Economic War" (1934–8) and also of the fact that this period marked the beginning of the tendency towards an increased home consumption of agricultural products. In the case of imports, much of the decline may be attributed to the change in Irish fiscal policy after 1931, resulting in a higher level of protective tariffs. Fluctuations in the value of trade due to changes in prices are eliminated in the following set of figures, which show Twenty-six County imports and domestic exports for the years 1924, 1930 and 1938, valued at 1930 prices:

		Imports £'000	*Domestic Exports* £'000
1924	....	55,088	45,918
1930	....	56,776	43,768
1938	....	46,730	26,670

Imports actually increased in volume between 1924 and 1930 by 3.0 per cent, while exports of domestic produce fell by 4.7 per cent.

Between 1924 and 1938, the volume of imports fell by 15.2 per cent and exports fell by 41.9 per cent.

B. EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE SIX COUNTIES: 1924—1938

The following Six-County trade figures in respect of the years 1924, 1930 and 1938, have been abstracted from the trade statistics published in the *Ulster Year Books* of 1926, 1932 and 1947:

TABLE II.

Year	Imports £'000	Index No. 1924 =100	Exports £'000	Index No. 1924 =100	Total Trade £'000	Index No. 1924 =100	Balance of Trade £'000	Index No. 1924 =100
1924 ...	68,827	100	63,810	100	132,637	100	5,017	100
1930 ...	57,047	82	52,167	82	109,214	82	4,880	87
1938 ...	54,385	79	47,061	74	101,446	76	7,324	146

The full extent of the transit trade in respect of the years 1924 and 1930 is not known, inasmuch as the value of Twenty-six County imports of Six-County origin prior to 1936 is not available. Prior to 1936, imports into the Twenty-six Counties were recorded according to country of consignment and not of origin. In 1938, however, the transit trade amounted to £3,305,000, thereby reducing the total trade figures of the Six Counties for that year to £98,141,000. In view of the fact that the value of the parcel post trade is excluded from the official Six-County trade returns, as published, the figure of £101,446,000 will be accepted for our purposes. It will be noted from the above table that the value of the total trade was higher than that of the Twenty-six Counties for the corresponding years. With the exception of the year 1931, the annual total trade, by value, of the Six Counties has always exceeded that of the Twenty-six Counties during the entire period 1924–1938. The higher value of the import and export trade and total trade was mainly due to the higher monetary value of the manufactured goods and articles which enter so much into the external trade of the Six Counties, as compared with the value of the agricultural commodities which constitute the bulk of the exports from the Twenty-six Counties.

In the Six Counties the fall in the value of external trade between 1924 and 1938 was not so precipitate as that experienced by the rest of Ireland. Between 1924 and 1930, the fall in total trade was 18 per cent,

as compared with a fall of 15 per cent in the Twenty-six Counties. A further decrease of 6 per cent was reached in 1938, as against a decrease of 30 per cent south of the border. Over the entire period, 1924–1938, the decline in the value of the total trade of the Six Counties was 24 per cent, as compared with a decline of 45 per cent for the rest of Ireland. Six-County imports declined by 21 per cent and exports fell by 24 per cent between 1924 and 1930.

In the absence of the necessary statistical data, it is not possible to indicate the changes in the volume of Six-County external trade during the period 1924–1938.

C. Pattern of Imports

An indication of the pattern of imports into Ireland during the inter-war period can be gathered from the statistics given below in respect of the years 1924, 1930 and 1938. The figures quoted have been taken from the relevant *Trade and Shipping Statistics*, published by the Department of Industry and Commerce, and from the figures furnished in the *Ulster Year Books* of 1926 and 1932, and the *Statement of Trade of Northern* Ireland, 1936–38, published by the Six-County Ministry of Commerce.

Table III.

Value and Percentage Distribution of Principal Import Groups of the Twenty Six Counties and the Six Counties in the Years 1924, 1930 and 1938

Area	Total Imports	Food, Drink and Tobacco		Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured		Articles wholly or mainly manufactured		Livestock	
	£'000	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports
Twenty Six Cos.									
1924	68,890	29,263	42·5	7,039	10·2	31,559	45·8	1,029	1·5
1930	56,776	19,908	35·1	6,575	11·6	28,782	50·6	1,511	2·7
1938	41,414	12,107	29·2	7,069	17·1	21,419	51·7	819	2·0
Six Counties.									
1924	68,827	22,830	33·2	9,451	13·7	32,434	47·1	4,112	6·0
1930	57,047	17,471	30·6	5,960	10·4	30,303	53·1	3,313	5·9
1938	54,385	16,899	31·1	7,187	13·2	28,161	51·8	2,138	3·9

With the exception of livestock, which for the most part consisted of horses, both for breeding and racing, the principal groups of imports into the Twenty-six Counties during the period 1924 to 1938, were very similarly proportioned to those of the Six-county imports. Manufactured articles made up some 50 per cent of all imports by value ; food, drink and tobacco made up one-third, and raw materials and unmanufactured articles about one-sixth. It is noteworthy that the proportion of imports of food, drink and tobacco declined from 42.5 per cent in 1924 to 29.2 per cent in 1938. This, price changes apart, is indicative of the increased reliance in the later year on home produced supplies. The increase in the proportion of raw materials from 10.2 per cent in 1924 to 17.1 per cent in 1938 reflects the increased industrialization that has been carried out in the Twenty-six Counties since 1924, and more particularly after 1931. A scrutiny of the details of the published statistics reveals that, generally speaking, the Twenty-six Counties imported much the same class of commodities as the Six Counties, with the exception of sugar, flax, flax tow and linen yarn, of which only small quantities were imported. Towards the end of the inter-war period the proportion of wheaten flour, animal feeding stuffs, sugar, boots and shoes, and apparel, hosiery and woollen goods imported into the Twenty-six Counties declined considerably, being replaced by the home products.

There was little change in the respective proportions of the principal groups of Six-county imports during the period 1924–1938. Around 50 per cent of the total imports were made up of articles wholly or mainly manufactured, food, drink and tobacco made up about one-third of all imports, raw materials and unmanufactured articles amounted to about one-eighth, and livestock made up the balance. The overwhelming bulk of the livestock was imported from the Twenty-six Counties, and much of them were cattle in transit to Britain. Neither was there any marked change in the nature of imports during this period. Cotton goods, maize, flax, flax tow, coal, wheat and wheaten flour, animal feeding stuffs, machinery, petrol, woollen goods, boots and shoes, apparel, linen yarns and goods, sugar, tea and tobacco constituted the principal imports by value. Imports of motor cars, motor spirit and fuel oil became of increasing importance over the years.

D. Pattern of Exports

It is in the field of exports that the fundamental difference between the external trade of the two parts of Ireland is most apparent. The following table shows the value and percentage distribution of total exports, classified according to principal groups, from the Twenty-six Counties and the Six Counties in the years 1924, 1930 and 1938.

TABLE IV

Area	Total exports	Food, Drink and Tobacco		Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured		Articles wholly or mainly manufactured		Livestock		Ships built and repaired	
	£'000	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports
Six Counties.											
1924	63,810	17,501	27·4	2,053	3·2	34,523	54·2	5,542	8·6	4,191	6·6
1930	52,167	13,384	25·6	1,558	3·0	26,462	50·7	4,463	8·7	6,300	12·0
1938	47,061	9,063*	19·3	1,422	3·0	22,775	48·4	4,169	8·9	9,632†	20·4
Twenty-Six Counties (Domestic exports)											
1924	49,721	20,629	41·5	2,497	5·0	4,419	8·9	22,176	44·6	—	—
1930	43,768	16,587	37·9	1,365	3·1	4,764	10·9	21,051	48·1	—	—
1938	23,877	9,854	41·3	1,226	5·1	854	3·6	11,942	50·0	--	—

* Excludes tobacco. † Includes tobacco, ropes, aircraft.

In the pre-war period roughly 50 per cent of the total exports by value from the Six Counties consisted of manufactured goods, of which linen goods and yarn, cotton goods, threads and machinery were the most important. Linen goods and yarn constituted some 55 per cent of manufactured exports during that period. The proportion of total exports in the form of food, drink and tobacco was roughly between one-fifth and one-quarter. The 1938 export figures for the food, drink and tobacco group were exclusive of manufactured tobacco exports, which have been merged in the official statistics, together with exports of rope, cordage, twine etc., in the shipbuilding and aircraft exports for that year. The livestock exports, mostly cattle in transit from the Twenty-six Counties and also other cattle of Twenty-six County origin, amounted to less than 10 per cent, in value, of total exports from the Six Counties.

The distribution of exports from the Twenty-six Counties during the period 1924–1938 was in striking contrast to that of the Six Counties. By 1938, half the value of the total exports consisted of livestock; food, drink and tobacco accounted for another 41.3 per cent; raw materials and manufactured articles made up 5.1 per cent, and manufactured goods amounted only to 3.6 per cent.

II.—Post-War Period: 1947–1949

A. External Trade of Twenty-six Counties and Six Counties: 1947–49

During the war years the total trade both north and south of the border contracted considerably, due to difficulties in obtaining supplies from outside sources, and the pre-war import excess in each case was converted into an export surplus on a number of occasions. Since the war, with outside supplies again becoming available, the import excess position has been resumed. The import excess, i.e. excess of merchandise imports over exports, is a substantial one in each part of the country, but that of the Twenty-six Counties is proportionately greater than that of the Six Counties.

The following table summarizes the value of the external trade of the two parts of Ireland for each of the years 1947, 1948 and 1949.

Table V.

Value of External Trade in 1947, 1948 and 1949 £ (Mln.)

Group	Twenty Six Counties†			Six Counties*		
	1947	1948	1949	1947	1948	1949
Imports	131·3	136·3	130·2	157·5	177·4	188·7
Exports	39·5	49·3	60·6	145·7	156·9	163·9
Total trade ...	170·8	185·6	190·8	303·2	334·3	352·6
Balance of trade ...	91·8	87·0	69·6	11·8	20·5	24·8

† *Irish Statistical Survey.* 1949–50. Pr. 536. 1951.
* *Ministry of Commerce. Trade Returns.* 1947–49.

As in pre-war years the value of the Six Counties foreign trade is considerably larger than that of the rest of the country. There has been an increase of about 250 per cent in the value of the total trade of the area over the pre-war years, as compared with roughly 200 per cent in the Twenty-six Counties. The total trade per head of the Six Counties in 1949 was £257 as against £64 in the rest of the country. It will be noticed that it is in the field of exports that the disparity is greatest, the value of exports per head being £119 in the Six Counties as compared with £20 in the Twenty-six Counties.

The volume of trade, however, has not increased to the same extent, as is evident from the following figures which show the volume of external trade of the Twenty-six Counties during the three years under review.

TABLE VI.

Index of Volume of External Trade: 1938 = 100*

	Imports	*Exports and Re-exports.*
1947	123	70
1948	127	75
1949	127	90

* *Trend of External Payments and Trade.* Pr. 757. 1951.

B. PATTERN OF IMPORTS

The volume of imports has risen to a level above that of the pre-war years but the volume of exports, although showing an increase in recent years, had not, up to the end of 1949, regained the pre-war value. (In 1950, the volume of exports just exceeded the 1938 level). There is no information available as to the changes in volume of Six-county trade, as there are no separate trade index numbers for that part of the country.

The value and percentage of distribution of total Irish imports in 1949 are shown hereunder:

TABLE VII.

Area	Total imports	Food, Drink and Tobacco		Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured		Articles wholly or mainly manufactured		Livestock	
	£'000	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports	£'000	% of total imports
Twenty-Six Cos.	130,232	28,024	21·5	18,136	14·0	80,386	61·7	3,685	2·8
Six Cos.	188,732	42,158	22·3	21,927	11·6	118,155	62·6	6,492	3·5

The proportions of total imports formed by food, drink and tobacco products have declined considerably since 1938, when the proportions were 29.2 per cent and 31.5 per cent respectively. Despite the large increase in the value of this group, there

has been a decline in volume in practically all goods within the group. For instance, in the Six Counties in 1938, 14.85 million cwts. of grain and flour were imported at a cost of £5.07 million, whereas in 1949 8.43 million cwts. cost £10.81 million. The decline in the volume of Six County imports of meat and dairy products has been due mainly to the British rationing restrictions which are in force in the Six Counties.

The principal import groups in 1949 are shown in Table VIII. This table shows that both parts of the country continued to import the same class of goods, although their order and magnitude in the import list differed. The estimated value of Six-county imports of food, drink and tobacco in 1949 (£42,158,000) was 50 per cent higher than the similar group in the Twenty-six County imports. This at first sight appears to be a remarkable feature, considering that the population of the Six Counties is only about one-third that of the rest of the country. However, it stresses the fact that the Twenty-six Counties is less dependent on external sources of supply for such foodstuffs as wheat, flour, sugar, beverages and animal feeding stuffs. Also a considerable portion of the Six-county tobacco imports are for processing and exportation as cigarettes and pipe tobacco.

TABLE VIII.

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS GROUPS IN 1949

	Six Co. Total Imports, £188,732,000.		Twenty-Six Co's. Total Imports, £130,231,623.	
Description	Value	Percentage of total imports	Value	Percentage of total imports
	£'000	%	£'000	%
Food, Drink and tobacco	42,158	22·3	28,024	21·5
Textiles Fabrics, yarns and materials ...	39,636	21·0	17,497	12·7
Metals and metal manufactures	37,168	19·7	23,250	17·8
Products for heating, lighting and power ...	13,181	7·0	13,356	10·3
Apparel	10,431	5·5	4,782	3·7
Livestock	6,492	3·5	3,685	2·8
Vehicles and transport equipment	5,852	3·1	9,100	6·8
TOTALS	£154,918	82·1	£99,694	75·6

Sources : *Trade Statistics*, 1949. *Central Statistics Office.*
Trade Returns, 1947–9. *Ministry of Commerce.*

Textile imports into the Six Counties are more than double those of the rest of Ireland and reflect the more important part played by the textile industry in the industrial economy of the North-East. Much, however, of the cotton goods imported by the Six Counties are for processing and return to Britain and, to a small extent, to the Twenty-six Counties. It is worth noting that the Six Counties imported in 1949 flax and flax tow to the value of £4,824,000 for use in the linen industry, most of which had to be paid for in hard currency, i.e. Belgian francs. There is no doubt that here is one class of imports that could be considerably reduced by an expansion of the flax-growing area in the whole of Ireland. However, it is most unlikely that this dependence on foreign supplies of flax will be reduced until the growing of flax at home can be expanded under a scheme of planned development on a nation-wide scale. The present dependence of the livestock, pig and poultry industries of the Six Counties on outside sources of supply of feeding stuffs is shown in heavy imports of maize, maize products and barley (£4,633,000). The imports of animal feeding stuffs, costing £3,820,000 in 1949, were considerably in excess of the Twenty-six County imports estimated at £539,000. The proportion of Twenty-six County imports devoted to textiles in 1949 (12.7 per cent) has doubled since 1938 (6.3 per cent); they constituted the third most important group of imports in that year, and reflected increased activity in the growing textile industry south of the border.

After the food, drink and tobacco group, metal manufactures was the most important group of the Twenty-six County imports, being valued at £23,250,000 as compared with Six-county imports of £37,168,000. In each case machinery was by far the largest constituent item in this group. The Six-county imports of iron and steel were mainly for use in the shipbuilding and engineering industries. The large imports of livestock into the Six Counties were mainly live cattle, in transit from the rest of Ireland to Britain. In the case of the Twenty-six Counties, livestock imports consisted mainly of horses imported temporarily for racing. Another interesting feature that emerges from a study of the relevant trade statistics is that in the three year period 1947–49, the Six Counties' annual coal imports at 2,461,000 tons were, on the average, 43 per cent greater than the average annual coal imports for the rest of the country. Again, by far the greater proportion of Six-County requirements of boots, shoes and hosiery were imported, whereas in the Twenty-six Counties the demand is met largely by home industry.

C. Pattern of Exports

The distribution of exports in 1949 as between the main groups of commodities is shown in the table on the following page :—

TABLE IX.

1949

Area	Total exports (incl. re-exports	Food, Drink and Tobacco		Articles and raw materials mainly unmanufactured		Articles wholly or mainly manufactured		Livestock		Ship-building aircraft, tobacco, cigarettes, ropes, cordage	
	£'000	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports	£'000	% of total exports
26 *Counties*	60,552	22,279	36·8	3,914	6·5	7,230	11·9	27,108	44·8	—	—
Six Counties	163,867	26,201*	16·0	4,129	2·5	92,618	56·5	10,300	6·3	30,619	18·7

* Excludes tobacco.

There has been a more than threefold increase in the value of Six-county exports since 1938, while the increase in the exports from south of the border has been something less than that. The percentage distribution of Six-county exports as between the different classes of exports has shifted since the pre-war period in favour of manufactured goods which, in 1949, accounted for 56.5 per cent of total exports as compared with 48.4 per cent in 1938. Manufactured goods, mainly textiles and machinery, plus ships, aircraft, tobacco and cigarettes, ropes, cordage and twine accounted for 75.2 per cent of total exports. The 1938 percentage was 63.9 per cent. Food and drink exports from the Six Counties declined from 19.3 per cent of total exports in 1938 to 16 per cent in 1949. Milk, eggs, poultry, bacon and potatoes were the principal food stuffs exported. Again, as in pre-war years, the bulk of the livestock exported consisted of live cattle in transit from the Twenty-six counties to Britain.

Livestock, and food, drink and tobacco made up 81.6 per cent of the value of total exports from the Twenty-six Counties in 1949. In terms of volume, however, as already stated, the total exports from the Twenty-six Counties were only 90 per cent of the 1938 level. An interesting feature of the 1949 trade statistics was that there had been an increase from 3.6 per cent (in 1938) to 11.9 per cent in the export of manufactured goods from the Twenty-six Counties.

The principal export groups from each area in 1949 are shown in Table X. As has already been pointed out, exports from the Twenty-six Counties consisted largely of agricultural products—one item alone, cattle, accounted for 34 per cent of total domestic exports. The export trade of the Six Counties is somewhat more varied despite the importance of the textile group (35.3 per cent) which continues to be the leading export group in the Six Counties. It will be noticed that Six-county textile exports at £57,910,000 were more than double the value of the livestock exports from the Twenty-six Counties. In fact, they were £10,026,000 or 20.9 per cent greater in value than the combined values of the entire range of agricultural exports from the Twenty-six Counties

in 1949, including exports of indirect agricultural origin such as porter, beer, whiskey and confectionery. At the same time, however, the value of agricultural exports from the Six Counties is not inconsiderable. Six County exports in 1949 of meat, poultry, game, dairy produce, eggs, fruit, vegetables and grass seed amounted to £22,642,000, and exceeded by 61.8 per cent the value of the exports of the similar products from the Twenty-six Counties (£13,991,000). When one considers the respective sizes of the two areas this appears, at first sight, to be an astonishing achievement. The price differential obtaining in the British market between Six and Twenty-Six County agricultural produce goes some way to explaining this apparent phenomenon. During the past decade there has taken place a very considerable expansion in the production of eggs

TABLE X.
PRINCIPAL EXPORT GROUPS, 1949

Six Co. Total Exports and Re-Exports, £163,867,000			Twenty-Six Co. Total Domestic Exports, £58,973,746.	
Description	Value	Percentage of total exports	Value	Percentage of total domestic exports
	£'000	%	£'000	%
Textile Fabrics, Yarns and materials ...	57,910	35·3	3,763	6·4
Tobacco, cigarettes, rope, twine etc., ships and aircraft	30,619	18·7	1,296	2·2
Metals and metal manufacturers	14,843	9·1	338	0·5
Apparel	12,233	7·5	375	0.5
Dairy Produce and Eggs	11,750	7·2	6,988	11·8
Livestock	10,300	6·3	27,108	44·8
Fruit, vegs. and grass seed	6,518	3·9	1,363	2·3
Meat, poultry and game	4,374	2·6	5,640	9·6
Beverages	287	0·1	5,009	8·5
TOTALS	148,820	90·7	51,880	86·6

Sources : *Trade Statistics of Ireland, Dec.*, 1950.
Summary of Trade of N. Ireland, 1947–49. *Ministry of Commerce.*

and milk in the Six Counties under the stimulus of highly subsidized prices paid by Britain. The export of eggs and milk alone from the Six Counties was 78 per cent greater in value than the export value of the same two products from the Twenty-six Counties. There was a considerable difference in the volume of the exports of these two products. In 1949 the Six Counties exported 38.2 million dozen eggs, and 714,000 cwts. of dried and condensed milk, as compared with 33.8 million dozen and 272,000 cwts. respectively from the Twenty-six Counties. There were also 540,000 cwts. of fresh milk exported from the Six Counties during 1949, while the export of fresh milk from the rest of the country was negligible. It must be mentioned that milk is *not* rationed in the Six Counties as it is in Britain, while the regulation relating to the rationing of eggs is only very loosely observed in the Six Counties ; these facts would seem to rule out the possibility that the considerable exports of these two products were at the expense of the Six-county consumers.

Although bacon and ham exports from the Six Counties had not reached the pre-war level, being some 35 per cent less in value and 60 per cent less in volume, nevertheless they were in 1949 five times greater in value and over six times greater in volume than similar exports from the Twenty-six Counties. The Six-county poultry exports, although showing a decline of 26.6 per cent in volume, have increased greatly in value since 1938, realizing £2,194,000 in 1949 as compared with £734,000 in the pre-war year. However, Twenty-six County poultry exports were 60.7 per cent greater in value, this being the reversal of the 1938 position when the value of Six-county poultry exports exceeded those from the rest of the country by 71.9 per cent. A new and promising development in agricultural exports from the Twenty-six Counties has been the export of tinned beef, which in 1949 amounted to £1,139,000. It must be remembered that not a little of the exports of meal, poultry and game from the Six Counties was due to the rationing in the home consumption of these products and their diversion into the British meat pool, whereas in the Twenty-six Counties a considerable quantity of these products was consumed in the home market. Another group of Six-county agricultural products that has shown a great expansion in the last decade is the fruit, vegetable and grass seed group. The export of potatoes, fruit and grass seed, valued at £6,232,000, was 19.5 per cent greater in value than the egg exports from the Twenty-six Counties. In recent years the Six Counties has become one of the principal grass seed suppliers in the world. On the whole, it may be said that the agricultural exports from the Six Counties, even though they constituted only some 20 per cent of the value of total exports from that area, are more evenly distributed between the different types of agricultural commodities than are the Twenty-six County agricultural exports, where more than half of them consist of livestock.

In the field of industrial and manufactured products there is nothing in the Twenty-six County groups of exports comparable in magnitude to the Six-county groups of textiles, metals, apparel, ships, aircraft etc., as can be seen from the particulars given in Table X. By comparison the Twenty-six County exports of manufactured products are insignificant, although a welcome but slow increase is observable in the past few years.

The next important group of Six-county exports consisted of ships, aircraft, tobacco, cigarettes, ropes and cordage etc. This is a most extraordinary grouping of widely differing commodities and products. It is a classification adopted by the Belfast authorities, presumably on defence grounds, to prevent disclosures of shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing activities in Belfast. No separate figures are quoted in the published trade returns as to the value of the ships and aircraft built and repaired, but it is not unreasonable to assume that their value would amount to at least 50 per cent of the total figure for this group (£30,619,000). Metals and metal manufactures and apparel were next in order of importance. The combined value of these two groups was equal to that of the livestock exports from the Twenty-six Counties. There has been a big expansion in the value and volume of apparel exported from the Six Counties since 1938. This item, in 1949, accounted for 7.5 per cent of total exports as compared with 2.1 per cent in 1938.

The most important of the manufactured exports from the Twenty-six Counties were beverages, of which over £5,000,000 worth were exported in 1949. Six-county exports of beverages were very small at £287,000. Textile exports were second on the list of manufactured exports from the Twenty-six Counties and they consisted largely of raw wool, flax and flax tow. The linen and cotton goods exported were goods consigned to the Six Counties, where they were processed and finished for re-export from that area. Tobacco, ropes etc., boots and shoes and hosiery, all in comparatively small quantities, made up the balance of manufactured articles exported from the Twenty-six Counties in 1949.

D. Geographical Distribution of External Trade

The geographical distribution of the external trade of the Six and Twenty-six Counties for the post-war years has followed generally the pre-war pattern. The particulars shown in the following table indicate the relative importance of the British market to each part of Ireland.

TABLE XI.

County of Consignment or Origin	Imports 1949		Exports 1949	
	26 Co.*	6 Co.†	26 Co.*	6 Co.†
	%	%	%	%
Great Britain	55·5	80·9	76·1	94·4
Six Counties	1·8	—	13·8	—
Twenty-Six Counties	—	5·9*	—	3·3*
U.S.A.	14·1	1·1	0·8	not available
European Countries	12·4	4·4	6·9	
British Dominions and Colonies ...	8·4	4·7	0·6	
Elsewhere	7·8	3·0	1·8	
	100·0	100·0	100·0	97·7

* Inclusive of transit trade.

* *Irish Statistical Summary*, 1949–50.

† *N. I. Trade Returns*, 1947–49.

In the above table Twenty-six Counties imports are grouped according to country of origin, while Six-county imports are classified according to the country of consignment. It will be observed that the Twenty-six Counties drew only 55.5 per cent of her supplies direct from Britain as compared with 80.9 per cent in the Six Counties. To some extent this is due to the fact that the Twenty-six Counties engage in more direct trading than do the Six Counties. Owing to the inconclusive nature of the published statistics relating to Six-county exports to overseas countries, it is not possible to state accurately the proportion of total Six-county exports sent direct to the U.S.A., British Dominions and European countries. It must be noted, however, that a considerable amount of goods imported to and exported from the Six Counties are transshipped in Britain from and to overseas countries. This is particularly the case so far as Six-county linen exports to the U.S.A. are concerned. It will be noticed that, after Britain, the Twenty-six Counties' best customer in 1949 was the Six Counties. Yet, her imports from the Six Counties were considerably smaller than those from European countries. Twenty-six County imports from the U.S.A. in 1949 were

greatly in excess of pre-war imports when they amounted only to 4.6 per cent of total imports (1936). This increase in trade with the U.S.A. was due to the large purchases of American goods made under the Marshall Aid Agreement. Twenty-six County exports to the U.S.A. at £465,000 or 0.8 per cent were exceedingly small.

E. Cross-Border Trade: Actual and Potential

Direct trade between the two parts of Ireland forms only a very small proportion of their respective total external trade. It must be mentioned here that, with the exception of agricultural products, Six-county goods are, in the main, subject to various protective duties on entering into the Twenty-six County area. In 1949, the Twenty-six Counties imported goods of Six-county origin to the estimated value of £2,317,548, or 1.8 per cent of total imports, and the value of Twenty-six County goods consigned to the North-East was £8,216,189 or 13.8 per cent of total exports. The principal imports of goods of Six-county origin grouped in order of importance are shown in Table VIII. Textiles, metals and metal manufactures, paper and clothing were the principal groups and accounted for 61 per cent of the total imports from the north eastern area. It is interesting to note the proportion that the Six-county goods bore to the Twenty-six County total imports of similar classes of goods. In 1949, textile fabrics, yarns and materials imported by the Twenty-six Counties from all parts amounted in value to £17,497,000, of which only £799,168 or 4.6 per cent were of Six-county origin. The principal textile items imported from the Six Counties were cotton piece goods, linen, yarn and piece goods, woollen yarns and artificial silk piece goods. Considering that the Six Counties in 1949 exported textile goods to the rest of the world to the value of £57,910,000, there would appear to be considerable room for an expansion of trade, in textiles at least, between the two parts of the country, an expansion that would be considerably accelerated in a United Ireland freed from the existing restrictions of trade between the two areas. Even under existing circumstances, there should be room for an expansion of trade in textiles across the Border, once the present recession in the industry has passed away.

The value of Twenty-six county imports of metals and metal manufactures was £23,250,000 in 1949, of which only £331,630 or 1.4 per cent was of Six-county origin. Machinery at £7,992,000 was the largest single item within the group and the value of imports of machinery made in the Six Counties was £128,466 or 1.6 per cent of the total. During the same year the Six Counties exported metals and metal manufactures to the rest of the world to the value of £14,813,000 of which £11,146,000 was machinery. Here again there would appear to be room for an expansion of trade between the two parts of Ireland, particularly in the field of agricultural, textile and electrical machinery, and in refrigerating and

ventilating apparatus and parts. In 1949, the Twenty-six Counties imported apparel to the value of £4,782,000, of which only £132,838 or 2.8 per cent came from the Six Counties. The estimated value of Six-county exports of apparel in 1949 to elsewhere was £12,233,000. The clothing industry in the Six Counties is highly organized and until the recent slump in the industry employed about 30,000 persons. It caters mainly for the British and Overseas markets, leaving the home market to be supplied largely by British manufacturers. While the clothing industry in the Twenty-six Counties has shown considerable expansion during the course of the past couple of decades and enjoys a protected home market, apparently it is not yet able to meet the full home requirements in all varieties of clothing. It would seem, therefore, that there would be room for Six-county clothing manufacturers in the Twenty-six County market, given freedom of access to that market.

The range of Twenty-six County domestic exports consigned to the Six Counties in 1949 was very limited, the principal groups being livestock, textiles and beverages, which together amounted to £7,149,406 or 87.1 per cent of the total exports consigned to that area. Livestock (£4,766,841), or 51.9 per cent of total exports to the Six Counties, consisted mainly of cattle to the value of £3,702,955 or about 18.1 per cent of total cattle exports from the Twenty-six Counties; sheep and lambs valued at £398,571 and horses temporarily exported for racing, valued at £490,014. The textile exports to the Six Counties were made up principally of flax and flax tow, valued at £799,354 and linen and cotton piece goods totalled £315,394, these latter being goods sent for finishing and processing. The export of other textiles, such as woollen and worsted yarns and materials was very small and amounted only to £27,561. Raw wool exports amounted to £69,614 and textile goods for cleaning and dyeing were valued at £19,051. The woollen and worsted industry is longer established and on a larger and more extensive scale in the Twenty-six Counties, and the Six-county market should offer increased trade prospects in a united Ireland. The Six-county imports of woollen goods in 1949 were valued at £5,921,000.

Six-county imports of boots and shoes in 1949 were valued at £4,918,000 and the area is largely dependent on outside sources of supply. The boot and shoe industry in the Twenty-six Counties, which has expanded rapidly since 1932, should perhaps be able to find an additional market in the Six Counties, if able to meet the present British suppliers on competitive terms. In 1949, the value of boots and shoes exported from the Twenty-six Counties to the Six Counties was only £23,171.

The Six Counties in 1949 imported 80 per cent of its requirements of ale, beer and porter from the Twenty-six Counties, and probably the market there for these products is not capable of much further expansion. Twenty-six County exports to the Six Counties of jams, canned vegetables,

sweets, biscuits and confectionery were relatively large at £215,282, and there should be room for an expansion of these exports to the Six-county area in view of the fact that in 1949 the Six Counties imported confectionery to the value of £1,533,000, practically all from Britain, and jams and marmalades to the value of £1,034,000, of which the Twenty-six County share was only £7,413 and £94,333 respectively. The Six-county market should offer possibilities of an increased trade in agricultural products from the Twenty-six Counties, such as prepared meats, cheese and butter, and in building materials such as plaster boards and plaster of Paris.

F. Balance of Payments

As already stated, an import excess on visible trade was a normal feature, during the inter-war period, of the external trade of both the Twenty-six and Six Counties, but the excess was more pronounced in the case of the Twenty-six Counties. This position was again in evidence in the post-war period. In 1949, the Twenty-six Counties' exports paid for less than half its imports as compared with three-fifths in 1939 and three-quarters in 1929. This fact reflects the ability of the Twenty-six County area to finance imports otherwise than by direct exports, and points to one of the significant features of its balance of payments, namely, the dependence on net invisible income from tourism, external investments, emigrants' remittances etc., to close the gap between merchandise imports and exports.

Net invisible income—mainly from tourism, emigrants' remittances and external investments—came to within £10 million of meeting the visible trade deficit of £69.8 million in 1949. The import excesses of £91.8 million in 1947 and £87 million in 1948 were similarly offset to the extent of £62 million and £67 million by net credit balances on invisible account. The gaps of £30 million, £20 million and £10 million in 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively were met by a realization of external assets.

A fundamental weakness in the balance of payments position of the Twenty-six Counties is that, while earnings are almost exclusively sterling earnings, its payments abroad have to be made to a variety of countries, with none of which, except Britain, it earns a surplus. Of the Twenty-six County earnings, 90 per cent of exports go directly to Britain and the Six Counties; emigrants' remittances and tourist receipts come mainly from Britain and investment income accrues almost exclusively in sterling. On the other hand, only 55.5 per cent of imports are from Britain, the remainder coming from all over the world, but particularly from the U.S.A., Canada, Sweden, India, The Netherlands, France and Belgium.

So far as the Six County area is concerned, no information has been published relating to its balance of payments. Any relevant information is merged in the balance of payments figures for the United Kingdom.

However, it can be safely assumed that that part of Ireland also receives a substantial invisible income from emigrants' remittances, receipts from tourism, and investments abroad. Whether or not such income suffices to cover the annual visible trade deficit, it is not possible to state in the absence of the necessary data, but in view of the fact that the value of United Kingdom linen exports (90 per cent of which is of Six-county origin) to the United States of America, amounted to £6.5 million in 1950, it may be surmised that the dollar deficit, if any, of the Six Counties is very much less pronounced than that of the Twenty-six Counties. Against that must be set the fact that in 1949 the Six Counties' direct imports from hard currency countries amounted to £11,206,000, made up as follows :—Canada £4,255,000 ; Belgium £4,147,000 ; United States of America £2,079,000 ; Sweden £725,000. The value of imports from these countries re-shipped in Britain for delivery in the Six Counties is not known but it must be quite large. Of course the dollar earnings from the Six-county linen exports go to swell the dollar pool of the United Kingdom and do not benefit directly the Six-county Government.

III—Conclusions

Having reviewed, at some length, the trading experiences since 1924 of each part of Ireland considered separately, the question naturally suggests itself at this stage, what would be the trading position of a united Ireland ? To attempt to give an emphatic answer to that question would be unwise, in view of the inadequacy of the statistical material available to the non-official investigator. Yet, on the basis of the available information and using the 1949 trade statistics as a post-war norm, it is feasible, up to a point, to attempt a forecast of the trading position of a united Ireland, say in the near future—given the absence of war and a period of peaceful integration of the agricultural and industrial economies of the now separated areas. Space considerations will not permit of an exhaustive treatment of the problem here. It calls for further investigations, and could well provide material for a separate study. Sufficient may be stated, however, to indicate what might be the possible position.

The first effect of the merging of the two economies would be an immediate decrease both in the volume and value of the total external trade of Ireland. In the first instance, the cross-border trade, valued in 1949 at £10,533,737, would disappear from the unified external trade statistics, being converted into internal trade. In a unified country, with freedom of trade prevailing between the once separated areas, many commodities at present being imported could be obtained from within the country itself. Again, a proportion of the present export trade would be diverted to the home market. From a scrutiny of the import and export returns of the Twenty-six and Six Counties, it is possible to get some indication of the principal groups of commodities likely to be immediately

affected by a fiscal union, and the extension of the *de facto* jurisdiction of Dáil Éireann to the Six-county area. The export trade in livestock, livestock and dairy products and other agricultural commodities would continue more or less unchanged, though it is to be hoped that the joint efforts of the farmers and authorities both north and south of the then defunct border might succeed in raising agricultural production above existing levels. In the case of the heating, lighting and power-products group of imports, petrol, oil and coal would continue to be imported in much the same proportions as before, with the possibility that an extension of turf development and wind and water power utilization schemes to the Six-county area might lead to a decrease in the coal imports of that part of Ireland.

It has already been pointed out that the Twenty-six County imports of textiles, metals and metal manufactures of Six-county origin in 1949 formed only a very small proportion of total imports of these commodities, whereas they formed a very large proportion of Six-county total exports. In a united Ireland, the present Twenty-six County area should be able to procure a greater proportion of her requirements of these commodities from the Belfast area. Again, Six-county imports of flax, flax tow, boots, and shoes, barley, sugar and woollen goods are considerable. It should be possible to meet a goodly proportion of Six-county requirements of these goods from Twenty-six County sources. The groups of commodities most likely to be affected by the re-unification of the country would appear to be the textiles, metals and metal manufactures, and apparel groups, and sections of the food, drink and tobacco group. The values, in 1949, of large individual items within these groups and which entered into the cross-border and also the external trade of the Twenty-six and Six Counties are shown on the next page in Table XII.

It is not unreasonable to assume that in a united Ireland the Twenty-six County area could obtain at least 50 per cent of her requirements of cotton goods, silk and art silk goods, cotton yarns, machinery and electrical apparatus from the Six County area. On the basis of the 1949 figures, this would have the effect of reducing both the Twenty-Six County imports and the Six County exports by the same amount, *viz.* £10,050,000, and thus reduce the total external trade of all Ireland by £20,100,000. Again, let it be assumed that the Six Counties could secure from Twenty-six County sources about 50 per cent of her requirements of flax, flax tow, woollen goods, boots and shoes, hosiery, sugar and barley, thereby reducing the Six County imports figure and her total external trade figure by £12,400,000. This assumes, of course, that Twenty-six County production of these commodities could be stepped up considerably to meet the additional demand coming from the Six County market. (The 1949 level of Twenty-six County exports of these commodities to the Six Counties, less than £1 million, has been ignored in arriving at the figure of £12,000,000).

TABLE XII.

1949. *Six-County Imports.* £'000	From All Sources	From 26 Counties
Barley	2,186	—
Sugar	1,476	—
Flax & Tow ...	4,824	800
Woollen goods ...	5,921	27
Boots & Shoes ...	4,918	23
Hosiery & Haberdashery &c. ...	5,513	1

Six-County Exports. £'000	To All Parts	To 26 Counties	1949.
Linen & rayon goods	31,000	152	
Cotton goods ...	14,194	204	
Linen yarns & threads	4,572	92	
Machinery ...	11,146	126	

Twenty-Six County Imports. £'000	From All Sources	From Six Counties
Cotton goods ...	5,400	204
Silk & Art Silk goods	2,133	43
Cotton yarns ...	1,092	—
Machinery ...	7,992	126
Electrical goods & Appliances ...	3,650	2

Twenty-Six County Exports. £'000	To All Parts	To Six Counties
Flax & Flax Tow ...	849	800
Woollen goods ...	351	27
Boots & Shoes ...	118	23
Hosiery	97	1

Thus All-Ireland total imports would fall by £22,450,000 and her total exports decrease by £10,050,000. The combined import and export figures of the Twenty-six and Six Counties would then be reduced from £318,964,000 and £224,403,000, respectively, to £296,514,000 and £214,353,000, respectively. From these adjusted totals must be deducted the value of the cross-border trade, namely Twenty-six County domestic exports to the Six Counties, valued at £8,216,189, and Twenty-six County imports of Six County origin to the value of £2,317,548, which figures, of course, are also to be deducted from the import and export figures of the Six Counties. The net result of these reductions would be an All-Ireland export figure of £203,819,192 against imports of £285,980,075.

The combined actual import excess of the Twenty-six and Six Counties would be reduced from £94,561,000 to £82,160,883. As Twenty-six County invisible exports for 1949 have been estimated at £59·8 million, the probability is that with the added value of Six County invisible exports, the Balance of Payments in a United Ireland would be in equilibrium.

The following constructed table showing the external trade figures, classified according to principal groups of commodities, of an All-Ireland unit, and on the basis of 1949 figures, suitably adjusted in accordance with the above-mentioned assumptions, should be contrasted with the particulars set out in Tables VIII and X.

TABLE XIII.

ALL IRELAND IMPORTS AND EXPORTS ON THE BASIS OF 1949 FIGURES, AS ADJUSTED, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL COMMODITY GROUPS.

IMPORTS (£285,980,075) cal.			EXPORTS (£203,819,192) cal.		
	Estimated Value	Percentage of total Imports		Estimated Value	Percentage of Estimated total Exports
	£'000	%		£'000	%
Food, Drink & Tobacco ...	68,382	23·9	Textiles ...	56,377	27·6
Metals, metal manufactures ...	54,618	19·1	Ships, aircraft, ropes, tobacco etc.	31,915	15·6
Textiles fabrics etc.	47,483	16·6	Livestock ...	31,048	15·3
Heat, light & power products ...	26,537	9·3	Dairy Products	18,738	9·2
Vehicles & Transport Equipment ...	14,952	5·2	Metals etc. ...	9,381	4·6
Apparel ...	10,013	3·5	Apparel ...	12,618	6·2
Livestock ...	5,087	1·7	Meat & Game ...	10,014	4·9
			Fruit, vegs. etc. ...	7,881	3·9
			Beverages ...	5,296	2·6
TOTALS ...	227,072	79·3	TOTALS ...	183,268	89·9

From the above figures it will be observed that the percentage distribution of imports on an All-Ireland basis would differ but little from that shown in Table VIII, where each area is considered as a separate unit. But in the field of exports the indications are that exports in a United Ireland would be more evenly distributed between agricultural and manufactured and industrial products than is the case when the two parts of Ireland are considered separately. It is true that Six-county agricultural products command a higher price in the British market at present. Yet the existing price differential in the British market between similar products from the two parts of Ireland would not materially alter the respective percentages borne by the total agricultural exports to the total exports from all Ireland. Neither would it invalidate the conclusion that may be drawn from the above table: that in a united Ireland the export trade would show a healthier balance between agricultural and industrial products.

On the basis of the 1949 import and export figures for the Twenty-six and Six Counties as shown in Tables VIII and X, taken in conjunction with the calculated figures for an All-Ireland unit as shown in Table XIII, the percentage distribution of exports as between agricultural and industrial products would be as follows:—

Export Group	*Six Co.*	*Twenty-six Co.*	*All-Ireland*
Industrial and manufactured products	% 70.6	% 9.6	% 54.0
Agricultural products	20.1	77.0	35.9
	90.7	86.6	89.9

It must be emphasized that the foregoing trade figures and percentages shown in respect of an All-Ireland unit are purely speculative, based on a consideration of the actual position in 1949 and against the background of the agricultural and industrial economies of the two areas concerned. They are by no means to be accepted as final and conclusive. Further and more exhaustive study on this aspect of Partition is necessary, and that study would be assisted by a more frequent and more convenient publication of the cross-border trade statistics. The most recently published *Trade and Shipping Statistics* issued by the Central Statistics Office, appeared in January of this year and were in respect of the years 1945, 1946 and 1947. Perhaps it would be possible to make a special publication of the cross-border trade in detail. It is surely desirable that detailed particulars of that trade should be as widely known as possible in order that some indications might be gathered of the possible economic effects to be expected from a re-unification of the country's economy.

LABHRÁS Ó NUALLÁIN

THE LATE MR. GEORGE GODFREY

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr. George Godfrey, Production Manager of Messrs. Alex. Thom & Co., Iona Works, Glasnevin. Mr. Godfrey took the keenest personal interest in *Studies* and was justly proud of the high standard of craftsmanship in case-room, machine-room and bindery displayed in its production.

To deal with so genial, cultured and sincere a man as Mr. Godfrey was indeed a pleasure. We offer his widow and son, and the firm he served so loyally our deep sympathy.

May he rest in peace.

—EDITOR

THE INFLUENCE OF MASS ENTERTAINMENT

BY MAURICE GORHAM

WHILST education and information are taken seriously, entertainment has been allowed to attain a firm grip on a large portion of the world's population, without its sources and its motives being examined, or its suppliers called to account.

It is a matter of interest if an international news agency changes hands, if a Press monopoly is established or suspected, if a nation's radio is handed from one authority to another or if a radio service is jammed. It is a matter of the keenest controversy if any change is made in an educational system . . . text-books, syllabus, choice of teachers, or school-leaving age. But changes in the world of entertainment are seldom taken seriously. They are intelligibly reported only in specialized columns for investors who are financially interested, though some of their results finally filter into the less specialized columns read by the fans.

Serious people rarely have time or inclination to look twice at this modern factor of mass entertainment. It seems too flimsy, too amorphous for serious study ; nor can most serious people penetrate far enough into its apparently meaningless frivolity to understand what it is and what it can do. There is a periodic recurrence of outcries against demoralizing entertainment, usually based on the narrowest grounds of religion or sex, and there is an underlying tendency to associate entertainment, often unfairly, with juvenile delinquency. Nothing is easier than for an offender to tell the court that he " saw it on the movies " or " heard it on the radio." Often he makes the headlines. So does the magistrate, who very rarely knows enough about the movies or the radio to know whether the offender is giving a good excuse or a bad one. But the underlying effects of the prevailing tone of entertainment in a country are often ignored.

In the present age, it seems that entertainment may easily prove more important in forming a national culture than the accepted influences of education and information. As the nation's songs may be more important than its laws, so the constant pressure of entertainment, enjoyed throughout life, may exert a greater influence than a period of part-time education in childhood, or an intermittent drizzle of news. Further, the standards and values imposed by the current trend of entertainment can colour the reception of education and information from the start. A school-child's response to history may be affected by the ideas he has already caught from the films. A teacher may stumble upon a sudden awakening of interest when he comes to a subject or episode that has been portrayed in a feature film, and he will have to be a very good teacher if his version of it is to efface the vivid and probably inaccurate picture that his pupils have already received from the film.

The effects of this soaking of the public in mass entertainment are sufficiently obvious even on the surface, especially among the young. They can be seen in outward behaviour . . . in dress and haircuts, in speech and manner, ideas of luxury, tastes in eating, drinking, and sport. A little deeper lie the effects on habits of thought and aspiration, on prejudices, ambitions, fears. They tend to influence people's attitudes towards civic behaviour, marriage, children, world affairs. They may influence an ordinary citizen in almost any activity from choice of a wife to the way he casts his vote.

This influence of entertainment is a comparatively recent growth. A generation ago entertainment was mainly local in origin, and roughly speaking it reflected the normal lives and habits of thought of the people it reached. But the flood of mass entertainment which present-day citizens expect as a right is no longer of local origin. Its sources are becoming more centralized from year to year. The life that it reflects and the ideas that it suggests (intentionally or unintentionally) are often strange to the people who enjoy it, and when a common current underlies the great bulk of the things that people enjoy, it sets up a rival attraction to the methods of thinking and behaviour that their own surroundings and upbringing inspire.

Although it has ceased to be local, entertainment is not truly international. It is an export industry for those countries that have an entertainment machine already established, and a home market big enough to serve as a base. In the countries where English is spoken or understood, the entertainment that has the firmest hold on the largest audience is almost certain to come from one of three centres . . . London, Hollywood, or New York.

For these countries, mass entertainment consists in practice of films and radio (with their auxiliary, gramophone records), and television as a formidable newcomer in the richer countries. The big battalions depend for their amusement mainly on them. In Britain, for instance, the cinemas seat four and a quarter million people, and receive some 1,400 million visits every year. Twelve million families pay for radio licences, and over a million of them have television as well. In the United States the figures are proportionately higher. The spread of television there has been so rapid that it is hard to keep track of it, but there were said to be fifteen million television homes at the end of 1951.

These gigantic purveyors of entertainment have no formidable rivals. The traditional theatre and music-hall have lost most of their power, and they retain the rest largely by picking up the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. More and more they seek to attract a public by using personalities and ideas that have already become popular on the screen or on the air. Film and radio celebrities figure in theatre programmes and music-hall bills, and the techniques of both are freely borrowed, sometimes

for efficiency and sometimes merely for effect. The microphone, for instance, has become so much a symbol of fashionable entertainment that it is frequently used in places and by artists who could well do without it, and at the other extreme its use has made possible the purely synthetic entertainment of ice pantomime, where sound and spectacle are provided from entirely different sources and ingeniously synchronized, as is done in making films.

There is nothing in the restricted field of live entertainment to compete in standards or values with the centralized entertainment that comes from radio and films. In great cities the living theatre retains a foothold, but it hardly affects the lives of the bulk of the people. The concert-hall has put up a harder fight, but here again the influence of the radio is dominant. An artist or an orchestra without a reputation on the radio can hardly hope to attract an audience.

Apart from sport, the only competitor with radio, films, and television, is the sort of reading matter to be found in the most popular newspapers and magazines. That part of it that can be classed as entertainment resolves itself mainly into comic strips and " comic books," both of which have attained a tremendous hold in America and are spreading their tentacles to other countries, usually in the form of American exports. These comic strips and " books " do not altogether follow the same pattern as films or radio, though their American origin ensures that they shall not diverge too strongly in the field of ideas. The chief things to notice about them are that the majority are no longer comic but rather adventurous ; that they temper their flights of fancy with a considerable seasoning of sex . . . even the inter-planetary space-ship seldom fails to contain at least one bosomy blonde ; and that their heroes tend to be massive males of an almost Neanderthal cast of features, with low foreheads and enormous jaws, who use private violence to defeat the plans of villains, many of whom exhibit the domed heads and spectacles that are the popular manifestations of the intellectual type.

There is no real clash between the comics and the better-known forms of mass entertainment. Their successful characters graduate easily to radio and the films, bringing to them a note of juvenile fantasy that they seldom achieve for themselves.

As for gramophone records, they were first in the field, but they have now become no more than a camp-follower of films and radio. The records that are most successful with the mass of the public are derived from films or film personalities, and publicized by radio. There is still an esoteric public for records in the categories that films and radio eschew until they can be commercialized, such as " connoisseur " jazz records, but it is limited and comparable in size to the audience for *avant-garde* theatre and films. So far as the masses go, records are an auxiliary to radio and films.

II

If it be true that mass entertainment has become an influence on habits and ways of thought, it is worth while considering the sources from which this entertainment comes, and the sort of ideas that it is likely to impart. This applies most of all to a country which, like Ireland, is a consuming rather than a producing market so far as entertainment in English is concerned. Ireland depends entirely upon imports for its films, and partially for its radio. The expensive newcomer, television, is likely to raise further problems when, and if, it comes.

Of the three, films have attracted the most serious attention because they are the oldest of the three forms of entertainment, the most conspicuous, and the most unashamedly commercial. They have aroused much criticism, many protests, many attempts at censorship or control, but these have usually been evoked by specific infringements of local taboos or national pride. Their wider influence is often ignored.

In ordinary usage, in English-speaking countries, " the cinema," " the films," and " the movies " mean the product of Hollywood. In some few countries there is a secondary awareness of British films. To a minority, of course, the terms mean something quite different. They stand at different times for the films of Russia, Germany, France, Italy, or Sweden ; the names they conjure up are Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Lang, Flaherty, Clair, Rossellini, or Cocteau. But so far as mass entertainment is concerned, Hollywood supplies the standard film, varied by occasional offerings from elsewhere.

Hollywood is a synthetic city : a product as artificial as those capitals that Oriental monarchs used to create to celebrate their accession ; more so, in fact, because Hollywood was not created by transferring a population from an old city to a new. It grew by agglomeration from all parts of the United States and half the countries of the world. Its way of life and ways of thinking are alien to the mass of Americans, let alone the other nations for which it provides entertainment. It needs an effort of imagination, or more often of calculation, for the people who make films in Hollywood to picture any of the audiences for which their films are made. And the results are often nearly as alien in Dakota as in Dublin, despite Hollywood's strenuous efforts to project and propagate the American Way of Life.

This, incidentally, is not an indirect attack on the Jewish contribution to the films. The alien quality of Hollywood is not due to the Jews. There are many Jews in the film business, in Hollywood and elsewhere, as there are many Jews in all forms of art and entertainment, from the most broadly popular to the most highly cultured. Whether you are a

painter with ideas ahead of your time, or a Tin Pan Alley composer with a new tune to sell, you will most likely find that the only person who will encourage you is a Jew.

The alien quality of Hollywood does not come from the Jews. It is a city created to supply mass entertainment, and for more than a generation it has been a magnet attracting immigrants with aptitude for all the processes by which that entertainment is produced. It draws to itself talent, technical skill, commercial astuteness, physical beauty, and endless unsatisfied ambitions. Its own tempo and outlook are so bewildering as speedily to deracinate those who settle in it, and obscure their memories of the life from which they came. The people who make the entertainment soon lose contact with the people for whom it is made. Direct experience, which the old-time showman and performer could use to appeal to their immediate audience, is replaced by the calculations of experts, who work out formulae for films that will bring in the public, varying the formulae on occasion by creditable sallies in support of a worthy cause sold by some enthusiast to their executive or board. The formulae are often no more successful than the sallies, but both remain equally long-distance. Ordinary people, whether they are in New England or Australia or Cork City, are being bombarded with entertainment at long range as the result of calculations by the back-room boys.

The result is that the films we see have only one consistent inspiration, and that is to make money for the people who produce them. They must appeal to the greatest possible number of customers throughout the world, and avoid offending any substantial number, or incurring organized boycotts. To fulfil the latter aim they submit to various forms of voluntary censorship, and sometimes go more than halfway to propitiate interests by making spontaneous gestures to causes with powerful backing, such as Americanism, anti-Communism, total abstinence, democracy, or religion. But still the box-office is paramount. Censorship works mainly in the negative, and the sort of censorship that can be imposed by representative bodies is too crude to be effective. It can measure the depth of a female corsage or the distance between twin beds ; it can ensure that criminals are shown coming to a bad end, but it has failed completely to inject either morals or religion into films. The occasional sentimentalizing of a priest or a nun is no compensation for the flood of tough films, cynical films, for the whole picture of a world of greed, selfishness, and false values in which heroes are as brutal as villains, love is made in monosyllabic grunts, marriage is a sport as predatory and almost as transient as a fox-hunt, and success is measured in terms of pent-houses, parties, and blondes.

These films are often alien enough even in America, where Hollywood's code of values and way of life are not widely shared. They are even more alien in the other countries in which they have displaced almost every other form of entertainment. American history, American football,

American police methods, American military exploits are often their basis ; Errol Flynn reconquering Burma single-handed is only an extreme instance. History, geography, even fairy stories are presented in the Hollywood way. English children learn *Alice in Wonderland* with an American accent, for the film has made more impact than the book. Ireland is hardly safe. Hollywood has already cast covetous eyes on the leprechaun. If ever it learns of the Red Branch, Irish children will be heard quoting the tales of Cuchulainn in American, and their incarnation of Deirdre will be some sultry swimming-pool owner from Beverly Hills.

Already this alien quality in American films seems more conspicuous in Ireland than anywhere else. The film posters on the walls leap out of an Irish setting with startling incongruity. The life shown on the screen seems hardly to relate at any point to the life to which you return when you come out into the streets. The virtues depicted in the films are often more alien than the vices. Relations between husbands and wives, parents and children, the attitude of adolescents towards the opposite sex, the behaviour of good policemen, honest politicians, brave soldiers and conscientious commanders, are shown in a way that may be American but is neither European nor Irish. Yet so strong is the illusion, so firm the hold of the skilful story, that people (especially young people) come out of the cinema feeling that life *ought* to be as it is on the screen, and the life of the streets has somehow failed to live up to the standards that they expect.

For the cinema-going masses, there is no serious rival to the Hollywood film. The British effort to compete with it was primarily commercial : there was no great difference between the aims and ideals of British and American films ; and this challenge has now failed. There are still a few characteristically British films—too few to affect the issue—and a few films made in Britain under the inspiration of Hollywood, which affect it even less. The films of other countries are kept out (except for a few that penetrate to the coteries) by the language barrier, reinforced by the financial hold over the cinemas exercised by the big Anglo-American combines.

Films in English are, therefore, essentially Hollywood films, with values and standards that are not always American, never European, and very seldom Christian.

What of the radio, the other great popular entertainer, which has an even bigger audience than the films ? In Europe, radio in English is dominated by the British Broadcasting Corporation, and that fact often causes people to believe that it is, on the whole, a force for good. It is admitted that dependence on radio may lead to mental laziness and to the development of herd mentality, but the actual content of radio programmes is often assumed to be good.

Judgments on radio as much as on films are affected by lack of first-hand acquaintance with the entertainment that the bulk of the people enjoy. It is easy to survey the BBC's printed programmes, digest its

lofty pronouncements, and admire the way it is carrying out its duties to religion, education, and culture, though there may be some doubt as to what it understands by these terms. But, in practice, the solemn-speaking Corporation does not live on its symphony concerts, its Reith Lectures, its broadcasts to schools. Its Third Programme is a talking-point rather than a listening attraction. The BBC depends for its audience and its income on its Light Programme, and the general tone of this can hardly be regarded as a corrective to that of Hollywood films.

Just as British radio is the strongest outside influence on the Irish listening audience, so American radio is the strongest outside influence on British radio, when it sets out to provide entertainment for the masses. American showmanship has set the style for comedy programmes, serials, singers, and bands. Sometimes whole programmes are imported from America, sometimes merely the idea is borrowed, or the jokes. This is not because the BBC wants to be American but because it wants to provide entertainment of the kind that can most easily be recognized by the wide public, and the Americans have led the way. It is not only in radio that English singers assume American accents and English comedians follow American patterns, but radio gives them their widest impact.

Characteristic also is the adulation of sports and sporting personalities, including the more hysterical sports of recent importation, such as ice hockey and speedway racing (but not dog-racing, as some remnant of Puritanism still bans that poor man's gambling medium from the British air), and the uncritical worship of the films. The real influence of British broadcasting on culture can be seen vividly reflected in the attitude of its popular programmes towards films, which are constantly glorified, and towards books, which are occasionally approached with a defensive, disarming *bonhomie*.

The British Broadcasting Corporation is a less exotic growth than Hollywood, but it has some of the same characteristics. The Light Programme, especially, which is run entirely from London, has to launch its programmes at a remote public with the aid of the same sort of back-room calculations that Hollywood employs, though on a far smaller scale. Lacking both the cosmopolitanism and the fierce commercialism of Hollywood, Broadcasting House is less of a jungle . . . and at the same time less of a fiery furnace that may occasionally flare into momentary brilliance ; but there is no real corrective to film values there.

Television shows the appeal to the masses in a less elaborate disguise. There is no Third Programme to cover it, no alternative to diminish it. The problem of making the new medium pay is more acute than it ever was with sound broadcasting, and standards are correspondingly low.

Like British radio, British television is not entirely independent of its big brother in the United States. Accents, ideas, idioms filter through, though on a smaller scale. In this respect British television programmes

have undoubtedly been helped by the commercial rivalry that has precluded them from using many films.

What sort of culture can stand up to this barrage of entertainment, directed from a distance by people with interests and motives quite distinct from those of their audience? That is not a question easily answered, and it is likely to become harder to answer as time goes on.

Ireland provides one of the most baffling instances. It is a country with its own traditions, which it preserved through centuries of repression. And yet is it absurd to imagine that it is in any danger from this new influence? Is it fanciful to fear that what conquest and plantation, bribery and persecution could not do, might be accomplished almost accidentally by shrewd business men in Hollywood and bland bureaucrats in Portland Place?

Education, in the sense of teaching in the schools, is not necessarily a safeguard, if children hurry home from school to hear the radio, or use half-holidays in going to see films. Religion is not necessarily a safeguard, since there is seldom an overt clash—there is little chance that the entertainment interests will risk trouble by giving open offence to any religious belief that has a sufficient number of adherents to constitute a force at the box-office. Language might be a barrier, but teaching Irish is a very different matter from proscribing English. Films could be kept out, at the cost probably of an economic blockade (for there are few things that rouse the supplying countries to angrier action than the exclusion of their films), but radio cannot. If people want it badly enough, they will get it in spite of penalties, as was proved abundantly during the 1939-45 war.

The obvious solution is for the country to supply its own entertainment according to its own ideas, but unfortunately the difficulties are equally obvious. Ireland already produces its own radio, which serves an invaluable purpose in catering for Irish interests and needs, but it cannot prevent people who want standardized entertainment from resorting to the BBC. Films and television present greater financial problems than radio for a country that has a small home market. If television became an amenity in public demand (as it already is in the United States), this again would raise formidable financial enigmas and it may well be that if television programmes did not come directly from the BBC, they would still be largely dominated by the by-products of British and American television, exported at less than their production cost, which in turn would affect the local product and impose their own standards and, in the long run, their own ideas.

This is merely a statement of the possible danger; perhaps an overstatement. There must be ways of counteracting the craving for standardized entertainment, of making people so conscious of the false standards of what they are offered that they can resist the appeal of illusion built up with all the showman's skill. But have they yet been found?

MAURICE GORHAM

ALMONERS' WORK IN IRELAND

BY ALMA BROOKE TYRRELL

FEW of the many people—patients, doctors, nurses, administrators—who come in contact with an almoner every day have a complete view of what an extensive field the work she does may cover. They go to the almoner for a specific service, or she seeks them out to enlist their generous co-operation and assistance in some special objective. The need is nearly always an urgent one and there is little time to explain more than the general lines on which she works. Yet the fundamental idea underlying almoner's work is now commonly known and accepted, that is, that she is the person in hospital or health centre whose special care and duty it is to smooth the way of the patients and to give them any social help required to hasten their return to good health.

It is often forgotten that people who are sick cannot handle the daily problems of living with the same ease and assurance as those who are well. They may be beset with anxiety and fears: illness brings them into a strange hospital environment very different from their ordinary surroundings. The resulting feelings of insecurity and personal inadequacy are related to the patients' medical progress because, with other adverse social factors, they aggravate disability and undermine resistance. Really effective hospital service depends on whether or not the patient is eventually restored, as far as may be, to his normal ways of living and providing for himself. The almoner as a medical-social worker has a part in achieving this end, by ensuring that what is gained from medical and nursing skill is not cancelled out and wasted for lack of help in personal and social disturbance. It is her responsibility to help patients to re-arrange their lives, temporarily or permanently, to fit in with their health requirements. As well as giving personal assistance and advice she co-ordinates for the benefit of individual patients the different services provided by voluntary charitable societies, contributory schemes, local authorities and the state. Her knowledge of how these social organizations function enables her to secure co-operation between them and the hospital service, and so to fill up the gaps which the most efficiently planned provision leaves when attempting to succour human infirmities. By such liaison work she carries the interest of the hospital in the patient beyond the hospital walls: this co-ordination for a constructive purpose is one of her special activities. The establishment of an almoner's department is, therefore, a token that hospital authorities appreciate their responsibilities, as guardians of great public institutions, to care for patients as individuals and not just as cases.

I

The work which almoners are doing here is exemplified by the following account of how an almoner and the family of a sick man battled to enable him to follow the doctor's orders and to get well enough to return to work. It is the sort of story known in every almoner's office : the patient's courage is shown up as well as the strength and independence and self-sacrifice of his wife. The patient, M.N., was married and had four children, the eldest aged eleven years. He was a tradesman, and had been earning between £7 and £8 per week with children's allowances bringing in another five shillings. He had a very comfortable home, which he was buying, paying £15 a quarter. He became ill in June and was admitted to hospital suffering from nephritis. When the almoner met him first, he told her he was worried because he would not be paid while he was sick, and his wife, who was going to have a baby, would have only National Health Insurance Benefit. Later, Mrs. N. came to the almoner's office. She said she would not like to apply for Public Assistance, and had considered taking in a lodger, but decided that she was not fit enough for this. She could manage temporarily at least as her husband's employer had sent her a week's wages, and his fellow-workers would make up a collection for him for at least another week. She promised to let the almoner know if she was in difficulties.

About a month later, Mr. N. still in the wards, asked the almoner to visit his wife as she had not been well. When she went to the home she found that the doctor had advised Mrs. N. to rest in bed for a few days and that the boy of eleven was looking after the house and cooking the meals. Mrs. N. said that the weekly collection made by her husband's friends in the Trade Union had continued, but had come down to £1 per week. With this she had only 5s. Childrens' Allowance, as the National Health Insurance Benefit had not been sent for two weeks. She was upset because the payments on the house were now due, and although a friend had gone to the Loan Society and had been told that payment could be postponed until next quarter, she had now realized that it would be impossible for her to make a double payment at that time. She asked the almoner to help about this and also about a bill for 17s. 6d. for the ambulance which had brought her husband to hospital.

Having reported to Mr. N. how his wife was looking, the almoner got in touch with the Housing Society and was able to arrange that they would accept one quarter's payment in December instead of the two which would be due, and that the arrears could be paid off in small quarterly amounts until cleared. She arranged with the ambulance society that they would cancel their charge ; and she got in touch with the National Health Insurance Society and got the benefit paid promptly.

At the end of two months' stay in hospital, Mr. N. was sent home, with very strict instructions from the doctor about periods of rest in bed

and carefully restricted diet. He was told that on the observance of these regulations would depend his ultimate recovery. Some days afterwards, the almoner again visited the home and found that he was obeying orders very faithfully. Regarding finances, however, the mother was nearly at her wit's end as the Union allowance would continue only for another week. She had received a final demand for £8 rates and had no way of meeting it. Mr. N. had made up his mind that he had no choice but to stop his home treatment and go back to work the following week.

During the next few days the almoner tried unsuccessfully one after another the various societies which might help. Finally, she went back to the family, bringing with her £10 from her Patients' Fund (donations from various sources or raised by Bridge Drives or Dances) to pay the rates and an electric light bill and to purchase some fuel. As the family was now in a serious crisis, she told them she would continue to help so that Mr. N. could complete his cure, and that the money could be repaid later on in instalments. For three more weeks she gave them £2 per week, and in October, when the patient came to see the doctor, he was told he could safely go back to the work which was waiting for him. Four months later, when the family was visited once more, the patient had been working regularly all the time and the family budget was beginning to right itself. Had economic and home worries succeeded in driving this patient back to work before he was medically fit, one result would have been waste of all the hospital care which he had received : he might have been reduced to a life of chronic illness, a loss to his family and to the economic life of the nation.

The almoner's general medical welfare work may include organizing convalescence or institutional care, obtaining surgical boots, hearing-aids or wheel chairs, writing to establish patient's claim to special invalid rations or negotiating various allowances or emergency relief. In certain cases, however, medical-social work goes deeper than the mere provision of material aids to recovery. Some diseases require far-reaching changes in modes of living, and much can be achieved by team work between the patient, the doctor and the almoner, and by mobilizing the help of outside agencies. Usually the patient has ideas on how he would like to solve his problems, but practical plans have to be brought out and developed by talking things over with an interested and knowledgeable person. The almoner knows what measures can be taken to remedy matters in certain circumstances. Her role is to put the patient in the way of helping himself and to assist him to regain courage to make his own decision. The decision may be a momentous one and the patient only too eager to get someone else to make it ; nevertheless the almoner's professional duty is to ensure that the choice of action is left to him, although her specialized knowledge of sources of help is used to point out what are the possible courses he may follow.

The right of the patient to make his own decisions is one of the principles on which the almoner's medical-social service is based. Another principle is that, since the work is connected with the patient's medical progress, the almoner considers his state of health before any advice about his social plans is offered ; and the whole is done under the direction of the doctor. Further, all that passes between patient and doctor and almoner is regarded as confidential and is not used, even to help him, without the patient's permission. In discussing with the patient how to deal with his personal problems, the almoner tries also to ensure that any new arrangements made will provide for the family as a unit. These four points are essential and are founded on recognition of the uniqueness and value of each individual person and the importance of his place in family life.

The almoner's working rules provide that help given, material or otherwise, must be adequate and continued long enough to achieve its purpose ; and that, except in cases of emergency, she does not help patients without a proper understanding of the social and medical facets of the problems which arise. If she acted otherwise, the final results might easily be more harmful than beneficial to the patient in whom she is interested.

When organized medical-social work was introduced here to meet the practical and everyday needs of people unable to deal unaided with difficulties arising from ill-health, there was behind it a vision of service and charity and a recognition that to provide it training is necessary. The almoner of to-day is a skilled worker, using modern methods. In essence, however, she tries to keep before her the same ideals of supernatural charity which inspired the earlier almoners who worked in medieval monasteries, the ideal which sees Christ in every needy patient. It is necessary to know how to do the work and it is equally necessary that it should be done in the right spirit. In the words of the Holy Father in a letter to the Secretary-General of the Catholic International Union of Social Service on 25th July, 1950, social service " cannot be conducted in a Christian fashion unless it is perpetually enlightened by the light which the Faith sheds " ; and, in the same letter, " None could indeed contest the double character of professional competence and Christian faithfulness which must qualify such action." The Irish almoner tries to shape her work in accordance with such ideals and her first concern therefore is the patient's well-being.

II.

A typical day in an almoner's office in the Out-Patients' Department of a General Hospital may pass something like this. Before the almoner has time to open her letters in the morning, the Out-Patient Sister brings in a middle-aged man who has just been examined by the Ophthalmic

Surgeon and told that there is little chance of saving his sight. He is very distressed, and the almoner encourages him to talk until he has recovered a little from the shock of hearing the diagnosis. Then she points out to him that the position need not be quite hopeless ; that certain things can be done. To begin with, she tells him how to set about getting a Blind Pension and talks of possible plans for training. She does not let him leave until he has begun to think for himself how he can manage his future with her assistance and that of his friends. Probably the interview ends with the almoner's promise to visit his home and to talk over ways and means with his wife that very afternoon.

Then a mother and two little girls have to be seen for a moment or two. The eldest has a physical defect which one of the surgeons hopes to correct by operation, and he has asked the almoner to see that she gets special nourishment and care for many months to prepare her for this. The father is in steady employment, but the care of the little girl has drained his resources, and the almoner has found it necessary to help with special weekly grants.

The almoner knows that by now there are quite a few people outside her office door, but she opens her letters to see if there is anything requiring urgent attention. One letter is to say that a vacancy she has asked for in a Convalescent Home for a little boy has just occurred and the bed will be ready to-day. The family is very poor and the child will require clothes and shoes. The almoner's student is told to do what is necessary immediately. She gets warm clothing from the store cupboard, asks the almoner to give her an order from the Patients' Fund to purchase shoes and stockings. She seeks out the child's doctor and gets him to write a note to the Convalescent Home giving medical instructions. (Earlier she will have arranged that the School Medical Authorities will pay for the child's maintenance in the Home). She writes out the times of 'buses and directions for getting to the Home, and gets fares ready to give mother and child. Then she goes out to see the mother who lives a few streets away and who is anxiously waiting for the news. At the end of all this she will put a stroke in the register of work done, and may wonder whether the uninitiated can realize the amount of activity which this one entry represents.

Meanwhile, the almoner proceeds with the interviewing of patients. In some hospitals she sees every new patient and asks if they can make a contribution towards the cost of hospital care. In most instances this interview is very speedy. Patients may be told how to get various vouchers, etc., which enable the hospital to claim payment.

In the hall outside, waiting to see the doctors, there are many patients who have been helped by the almoner and some of these come in to tell how they are progressing. One is a boy of sixteen years who has been in the wards for many months suffering from osteomyelitis. On discharge

he was told to attend daily for dressings and treatments. He often failed to come and the almoner found that this was because he had no coat. She obtained one for him through the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and he has attended regularly ever since. Another patient had been a governess in America for many years, but is now almost destitute and living in the home of a friend. She had a leg amputation and required a pair of crutches. She was unwilling to appeal to the Public Assistance for them, and, on the almoner's recommendation, the Red Cross Society lent them to her. The almoner keeps in touch with her and hopes to induce her to apply to the Public Assistance officer for the artificial limb which will be required later. Yet another patient, suffering from chronic arthritis, has been helped to get a mattress and blankets through the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and warm clothing from the Roomkeepers' Society. A fourth is a youth who is attending the Eye clinic. Some years ago he had opacity of both lenses which were operated on. He now has normal vision with glasses, and is earning his living as an assistant porter in a large firm. There was a crisis recently when he was asked to lift heavy weights : the doctors considered this might cause detached retina and so undo the successful operation and perhaps render the patient blind. At the doctor's request, the almoner saw the firm's manager who was extremely interested and sympathetic, and said that he would see that the patient would not have this type of work in future.

In Irish hospitals, nearly all the Out-patient Clinics are held in the mornings so the Out-patient almoner's afternoons are usually occupied with home visits, letter writing and telephoning, and with seeing patients who require long interviews and come by appointment. At this time of day, after lunch time, the almoner who deals with ward patients is at her busiest, seeing relatives and making ward rounds.

In specialized hospitals almoners find that various illnesses have certain types of social difficulties habitually associated with them. Yet, since the work still concerns sick and handicapped people, basically there is little difference in what has to be done to help them. Among the groups with characteristic social needs are the patients in a maternity hospital. There is always anxiety about the recurring problems, some without immediate solutions, connected with the unmarried mother and her child. Apart from that, the almoner's social role in a maternity hospital, although it is vitally important, is an undramatic one. She has to know the patients individually and deal with any social obstacles which may prevent them from getting the care and nourishment needed. When the mother is not to go into hospital, the almoner sees that the home surroundings are suitable, and she endeavours to smooth out any family worries and problems as they arise. If the mother and children are kept well and healthy, as far as social help can ensure, then the almoner's task has been completed.

Into the office of the almoner in a maternity hospital come the poorest of mothers with the most heart-breaking accounts of poverty. For instance, one day there was admitted to the maternity wards a patient aged thirty-three, who had been a widow for many years but was now married to a very poor newspaper seller. She had a son of sixteen who had no work. The family had no home : prior to her admission to hospital the mother-to-be slept in the tiny tenement room which was her own mother's home. She was particularly anxious and fretful about her son. She became very ill and had to have a major operation. When she was well enough, the almoner arranged for her to go to a Convalescent Home while the Hospital Nursery kept the baby. The almoner dealt with the immediate difficulty of getting the son somewhere to stay by persuading another Convalescent Home to take him in for a while, there being no doubt that he needed convalescent care. Later she was able to get him work as a page-boy in an hotel. Through the Corporation Housing officer a room was eventually secured for the family. With the help of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul beds and bedding were obtained, and the Hospital Matron assisted with blankets and clothes for the baby. When this family was visited many months afterwards, they were in good health, husband and son were working steadily, and the home seemed very happy. In this case chronic and long standing social problems gave rise to difficulties which seriously affected the medical needs of the patient. Through the almoner's work and in co-operation with various outside helpers, the family had been rehabilitated and the new baby given at least a chance for survival and a decent upbringing.

In other branches of work, where urgent social emergencies occur, dramatic results can follow the almoner's activities. Perhaps a man has to leave his home and work without much warning and is isolated in a Fever Hospital ; his family have no plans and perhaps no money. There are special allowances, but in an ordinary family nobody may know how to secure them quickly without advice. Here the almoner gets in touch with the family, helps them to make the arrangements necessary, and gets re-assuring messages transmitted to the worried patient. In Tuberculosis work, whether Hospital, Sanitorium or Chest Clinic, the almoner co-operates with doctors and nurses to see that nothing prevents every member of a patient's family from getting an examination ; she assists in getting allowances, special diets, clothing and bedding and takes a part in persuading employers to keep work for patients. She can have an influence in encouraging patients to stay in a sanatorium until their treatment is complete by helping to plan rehabilitation from the time the disease is diagnosed. A tangible object, such as a new type of employment, may be of immense benefit to the patient, and the almoner takes steps to help by arranging special instruction and education to suit individual circumstances.

III

Almoners in Ireland are doing valuable work, although in some hospitals there is a tendency to urge them to concentrate on duties connected with the hospitals' finances. This arises from a want of realization that what the almoner does is directly related to the medical care of the patient and that it affects to a decisive degree the final results of the hospital's work, results for which no measuring rod can be devised. If the employing authority recognizes that the almoner's primary function is the social care of patients, there is little objection to giving her the additional duty of assessing the amount of their contribution to the hospital and, from the patients' point of view, there are many advantages. What the almoner does is "social assessing," that is, she takes into consideration when arrang ingpayments the probable social effects of the illness, the patient's prospects of quick recovery and of returning to work, and how his family are managing when he is unable to earn. Almoners have a talk with every patient early in the course of treatment in order to discover if there are any social problems connected with his state of health, and to help in various small worries. Uppermost in the patient's mind there is usually anxiety about his expenses, and if financial arrangements are made at this time, the patient is saved the necessity of another interview with a Payments' Clerk. Hospitals have found in the past that this arrangement is good because the patient pays willingly what has been arranged with this considerate and understanding attitude. However, there is in this duty the ever present danger that the almoner's essential function as a medical-social worker may be overshadowed. Many almoners work with a growing sense of frustration, knowing that time which should be devoted to patients' social care is taken up with filling up National Health Insurance forms, sending out accounts, telephoning Contributory Societies, duties which involve no personal contact with the patients, and might be done equally well by clerical assistants. This is partly a question of understaffing. The arranging of patients' contributions can be done by an almoner, or under her supervision, without interfering with her main object, where there are a sufficient number of almoners and a sufficient number of clerks. Other administrative duties, such as keeping of medical records and statistics of attendances, which have fallen to the lot of the almoners, are not properly part of their work and should be done by Record Officers or other administrative staff.

The almoner needs to be kind and understanding, but beyond that she needs technical knowledge of social and medical subjects. Medical-social service requires the Christian spirit of charity to save it from the dangers of materialism, so she needs a background of sound principles. The relationship between patient and doctor and almoner is a confidential one, her work is governed by a code of professional behaviour guaranteeing respect for the human personality, and she needs to learn to put this into

practice. Her training, therefore, is a combination of theoretical and practical work. University courses have been set up here for the Social Science Diploma which is a preliminary of training. This takes two years and includes general study of social organization and social history; of ethics and psychology and legislation; of medical subjects such as anatomy, physiology and hygiene; and a knowledge of community resources available for those in need. The candidate for training is expected to have obtained the Social Science Diploma before she is interviewed by a Selection Committee in order to judge her personal suitability. Then follows fifteen months' practical training arranged by the Almoners' Committee in Dublin in conjunction with the Institute of Almoners in England. Seven months are spent in Irish Almoners' Departments, two months are spent gaining experience and training in the Catholic Family Welfare Bureau in Dublin and the remaining six months are spent in England. It is hoped that in time it will be possible for students to take all their training in this country, and that the Irish Committee will grow into an Irish Institute of Almoners, with reciprocal arrangements between the two countries similar to those which apply to doctors and nurses. For this, training here would have to be of a standard equivalent in quality and in variety of experience to that available in England. This is not yet possible because there are not enough almoners' departments suitable for training, and little training is done outside Dublin. Students benefit to a certain extent by the experience of working in English hospitals, but many people would prefer that this experience should be gained after qualification rather than before it. There is a scarcity of almoners in England, and many Irish almoners work there for some time before they can get employment here.

The first Almoners' Department here was opened in Dublin in 1918 but the main growth of medical-social work began fifteen years ago, following the publication of the Hospitals Commission's First Report which drew attention to the need for developing the service. There are now about sixty trained almoners working in Ireland, about a third of them in Belfast. The Almoners' Committee in Dublin was set up in 1937 as a branch of the Institute of Almoners in England. It is financed by subscriptions of almoners and by students' fees. Its most valuable activity to date is in connection with the training of students: more than one hundred have been trained through it during the past ten years.

The way is clear, therefore, for the development of plans for the completely Irish Institute of Almoners which this country should have when there are sufficient Almoners' Departments suitable for training. Almoners' work must be based on the culture and history of the country where it is practised. It can develop fully here only if it is adapted to Irish conditions: this requires that it should be regulated by an Irish organization. Moreover, the majority of Irish almoners are Catholics who

have a responsibility to contribute from their Catholic background to ideas on social welfare elsewhere. This work has grown in importance on the international level within the last few years. The International Catholic Union of Social Service is represented on the Councils of U.N.E.S.C.O., and the United Nations Organization has a special Social Activities office in Geneva. It would seem that until there is an Irish Institute of Almoners there will be no voice from Ireland representing this branch of work abroad.

In 1945, the Committee on Medical Education, with representatives from all the Medical Schools and from each of the teaching clinical hospitals, which was called together by the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland under the Chairmanship of Dr. E. T. Freeman, endorsed the recommendation of the English " Goodenough " Report, " That the study and teaching of Social and Preventive Medicine deserves further encouragement, in order that medical students and practitioners may be better acquainted with the influence of social, occupational, genetic and domestic factors on the incidence of human disease and disability." The recommendations of the " Goodenough " Report will probably form the standard for future medical education, and the Irish Committee " considered it essential that there should be an adequately staffed Almoners' Department in every hospital, and that this department should participate in the training of undergraduate students in social and preventive medicine.' On the development of Almoners' Departments on proper lines, therefore, one facet of future medical education will depend. The present pioneer organization of medical-social service departments in turn depends on the extent of the co-operation and understanding given by doctors and by others interested. At present, after fourteen years of endeavour, this country has laid only the foundation of a good hospital social service. So much has been achieved, however, that difficulties of development and comparative slowness of growth ought not to be allowed to dishearten those who are trying to provide all who need it with medical-social care of a high professional standard and in keeping with the traditions of charity of this country.

ALMA BROOKE TYRRELL

ST. TERESA AS A WRITER

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool

"I JUST laughed to myself." If St. Teresa's irrepressible sense of humour could bubble up at the antics of "serious people" making "a great fuss about niceties concerning their honour," or at the craftiness shown by the devil in his making of laws by which monks and nuns "go up and down in rank, as people do in the world," what amusement would she not have found in the title of this article? Had she not herself said all there was to say about that?

> For the love of God, let me work at my spinning-wheel and go to choir and perform the duties of the religious life, like the other sisters. I am not meant to write. I have neither the health nor the intelligence for it.

She is conscious enough of her style—"my rough style," she calls it—but conscious only of its badness, of its "imperfection" and "poverty." How, she might have asked, could it be anything else than bad? To begin with, she was a woman, devoid of learning, "too stupid to explain anything," untrained in the writer's art, with poor health and very little leisure, "almost stealing the time for writing," which took her away from what she considered a so much more appropriate place than her desk—the spinning-wheel. She had an atrocious memory, often forgetting what she had written a few days earlier and being constitutionally disinclined to turn back and see. Not that it mattered very much: her readers would hardly expect anything better.

> I expect many very important things will be omitted, and others will be put in which might well be left out: just as might be expected, in fact, of one with my witlessness and stupidity, and with so little quiet time. . . .[1]

Yet, six years after her death, this poor, ignorant, forgetful woman's first editor, himself a master of Spanish prose, could refer to "the purity and ease of her style," "the gracefulness and skilful arrangement of the words," and "an unaffected elegance which is delightful in the extreme" and "doubt if there has been any writing of equal merit in our language." And to-day, after three and a half centuries, she is still universally eulogized, not only for what she wrote, but for the way in which she wrote it; she is considered one of the leading prose-writers of the Golden Age, and in many respects is held up as a model to the young writer. She herself would certainly have attributed such fulsomeness to the influence of the devil. Professional writers might "go up and down in rank," but what

[1] *Foundations*, Prologue. Cf. epilogue to her *Life*, in which she attributes her omission to re-read this work to lack of time.

would a Discalced Carmelite nun be doing between the covers of a history of Spanish literature? It certainly is rather extraordinary, when one comes to think of it. . . .

I

The reasons for the esteem in which St. Teresa's style is held are two. First, she was a born writer: her instinct taught her what she could never have learned in any other way. Secondly, she had a remarkable personality, which, as she wrote with almost complete naturalness, gave her writings the same force, vigour, persuasiveness and grace that characterized her dealings with all the people, high and low, whom she met. In studying her style, therefore, we shall all the time be studying herself, and it is that, above all, which makes the task worth while.

The subject is not an easy one to treat within the limits of an essay. Most writers on St. Teresa have been content to use such generalizations as "artless," "simple and unaffected," "rich and racy," "racy of the soil," illustrating them with a few of her popular and unconventional forms and phrases. The style being the woman, those who penetrate it farther are apt, as the Abbé Hoornaert must have realized, to stray beyond the bounds of literary expression into the realm of personal relations. But even on St. Teresa's style considered in the narrowest sense a substantial book is waiting to be written. So rich and so amazingly varied are her modes of expression that for every word or phrase quoted in an essay of the length of this there are perhaps a hundred that call for analysis and comparison. Many discoveries, as even these few pages may perhaps show, are still unmade, but they will call for long and patient research by an investigator prepared to discard all prejudice and treat his extensive field as virgin soil.

About the vocabulary of St. Teresa a good deal has been written, most of it easily accessible[1]; and, as the details of it are of interest chiefly to students of Spanish, only the main lines which research has taken need be indicated. In vocabulary, as in style, the keynote is naturalness. Never allowing any of her own nuns to indulge in *préciosités* unrebuked, she herself shuns any form of expression so interpretable. The manner of writing adopted by nuns, like their "manner of talking,"

> should be simple, frank and devout, rather like that of hermits, and people who live in retirement. They must use none of the new-fangled words—affectations, as I think people call them—which are current in a world always eager for new-fangled things. In all circumstances let them give preference to common expressions rather than to unusual ones.[2]

[1] E.g., A. Sánchez Moguel: *El Lenguaje de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, Madrid, 1915; R. Hoornaert: *Sainte Térèse écrivain*, Paris, 1922 (*Saint Teresa in her writings*, London, 1931).

[2] "Method for the visitation of convents of Discalced Carmelite Nuns."

No words can be found in St. Teresa's writings, and very few constructions or stylistic devices, which may even be suspected as tainted with affectation. She eschews learned terms, only a score or so of which have been found in her total of close on a million words. The few she does use are mainly technical terms which she cannot avoid, and which she spells either phonetically, or in the peculiar form used by the people: *e.g., estasi* (for *extasi*; mod. *extasis*: " ecstasy "); *parajismo* (*paroxismo*: " paroxysm "); *proquesia* (*hiprocresía*: " hypocrisy "). Other words, too, which she must continually have used, she spells, perhaps from a desire to err, if at all, in the opposite direction to affectation: *an* (for *aun*: " yet "); *ilesia* (*iglesia*: " church "); *naide* (*nadie*: " no one "); *relision* (*religión*: "religion"). Many of her misspellings exemplify the popular love of metathesis: *catredático* (for *catedrático*: " professor "); *intrevalos* (*intervalos*: "intervals"); *primitir* (*permitir*: "permit"); *trasordinario* (*extraordinario*: " extraordinary "). In addition to these, she uses many metathesized forms (such as *-ld-* for *-dl-* where a second person plural imperative is followed by a conjunctive object pronoun) which in the sixteenth century were normal. Her simplifications (e.g., *perficion*, for *perfección*, " perfection ") exemplify a tendency which still continues, and has produced new forms even in the last generation.

She uses few of the technical terms of mysticism—chiefly because she writes, not abstractly, but in terms of her own experience. The phrase " mystical theology " occurs in three places, all in the *Life*; " mystical theology, *as I believe it is called*," she writes when she first introduces it,[1] and on another occasion she makes it clear why she shuns technicalities:

> The way in which this that we call union comes, and the nature of it, I do not know how to explain. It is described in mystical theology, but I am unable to use the proper terms and I cannot understand what is meant by " mind " (*mente*) or how this differs from " soul " or " spirit."[2]

She does, however, use less abstract technical terms with some frequency.

Not only English readers, but even many Spanish readers, are unfamiliar with Teresan orthography, the texts of so many of her works being modernized. Spanish readers, however, have the advantage over English readers as regards the use of that characteristic Spanish device, the diminutive, since English has no commonly used diminutive form, and the force of the Spanish form is apt to disappear in translation. The suffixes *-ico*, *-illo*, *-ito*, *-uelo*, and a few more, normally denote smallness, but may also render a whole gamut of other meanings and emotional tones, such as affection, protectiveness, condescension, depreciation, irony, sarcasm, contempt and disgust. Though this device was not widely accepted in

[1] *Life*, Chap. XI. The other two places are in Chaps. XIII, XVIII.
[2] *Life*, Chap. XVIII.

literary Spanish, as it is to-day, and by many was thought unworthy of serious writing, quite a number of the diminutives which we find in St. Teresa were in general use. Such were *asnillo*, a little donkey ; *avecita*, a little bird ; *cosilla, cosita*, a trifle ; *mariposita*, a little butterfly ; *palomita*, a little dove ; *pastorcito*, a shepherd-boy. All these St. Teresa uses quite frequently—some of them as figures illustrating the life of prayer. The *avecita* is the unpractised soul—a fledgling which soon grows tired, so that the Lord has to " put it into the nest, where it may repose."[1] The dove is the soaring soul, its eyes dazzled by the Divine Sun. The *cositas*, trifles " like grains of salt,"[2] are the soul's feeble resolutions. The tiny convent, St. Joseph's, Ávila, on the other hand, is given a diminutive with a very different force : it is " God's beloved little corner," *este rinconcito de Dios*.[3]

These were all current words in St. Teresa's day, but she uses also many which were less so, and some which were no doubt of her own invention, charging them with emotional content which another language can only approximately express. Such are *estas ayuditas*, " these puny efforts of ours " ; *aquel cuidadito*, " those trifling pains we have taken " ; *un disgustillo*, " a slight feeling of frustration " ; *esta encarceladita de esta pobre alma*, " this poor little imprisoned soul " ; *estos temorcillos*, " these trifling fears " ; *estas lagrimillas que aquí lloro*, " these few tears that I am here shedding." These examples all occur within less than one hundred pages of a single book.

Nor is St. Teresa content to invent diminutives in describing her own spiritual life and to metaphorize the little doves and butterflies with which she would have become familiar in her father's garden. Occasionally, in her early work, she even carries her diminutive-making into the sphere of mystical theology and writes of its technical terms as of the doves and butterflies of her childhood and of the tears and efforts and feelings of frustration in her spiritual life.

In the fifteenth chapter of the *Life*, for example, she uses an age-old figure of mystical theology in describing the Prayer of Quiet as a *centella* or " spark." At once she turns it into a *centellica pequeñita*, using two diminutives : we might say " the tiniest of tiny sparks." Again, *consideración* is a technical synonym of " reflection " or " meditation " : in the same chapter St. Teresa writes of *nuestras consideracioncillas*, " our poor little meditations." Here we have proof, both of the naturalness with which she wrote of mystical experiences and of the extent to which diminutive-making was a habit with her.

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[1] *Life*, Chaps. XIII, XVIII.
[2] *Life*, Chap. XXXIX.
[3] *Life*, Chap. XXXV.

II

Closely connected with St. Teresa's vocabulary is her use of imagery. Here, both in variety and in effectiveness, she excels. She had, like St. Ignatius of Loyola, a pictorial imagination, and, whether or no through the influence of the Society of Jesus, she " would try," some years before writing her *Life*, " to make pictures of Christ inwardly," and " to look at a field, or water, or flowers," which, she says, " reminded me of the Creator —I mean, they awakened me, helped me to recollect myself and thus served me as a book."[1] " Often, when I was a beginner," she records about this time, " it used to give me great delight to think of my soul as a garden and of the Lord as walking in it."[2] It is not surprising, then, that, when at a loss to explain anything, she turned naturally to simile or metaphor. " I shall have to employ some kind of comparison," she writes, as an apology for introducing into her *Life* the similitude of the Waters.

> . . . I should like to avoid doing so ; but this spiritual language is so hard to use for such as, like myself, have no learning, that I shall have to seek some such means of conveying my ideas.[3]

And, when it came to describing to her confessors ineffable experiences which characterize the higher states of prayer :

> I did nothing, in my efforts to make myself understood, but draw comparisons. . .[4]
>
> I also drew such comparisons as I could and as the Lord revealed to my understanding. . . .[5]

These comparisons she multiplies as she finds her experiences harder and harder to explain : incidentally, she unconsciously gives her readers an insight into her own interests. For she does not confine herself, as do some of her less original contemporaries, to figures, like iron, wood and coals in the fire, or the river and the sea, which generations of mystical writers had made familiar. In upwards of four hundred figures of speech which she uses in her works are included flowers, beasts, birds, insects, reptiles, fishes, parts of the body, landscapes, the heavens, household implements and common objects. There are figures of war, of family life, religious life, court life and prison life, of matrimony, of agriculture, of athleticism, of journeys by land or by sea, not to mention such unexpected figures as the game of chess, the bull-fight and the silkworm.

The most striking of these groups of figures is that which deals with soldiering. Much has been said, since Crashaw, in the preamble to his famous Hymn, described St. Teresa as " for masculine courage of performance, more than a woman," of her remarkable virility. " Be strong

[1] *Life*, Chap. IX.
[2] *Life*, Chap. XIV.
[3] *Life*, Chap. XI.
[4] *Life*, Chap. XXVII.
[5] *Life*, Chap. XXVIII.

men," she once counselled her daughters. " If you do all that is in you, the Lord will make you so manly that men themselves will be amazed at you."[1] " Strive like strong men until you die in the attempt, for you are here for nothing else than to strive."[2] The sister of soldier brothers, she thought of life in general, and in particular of the religious life and of her own Reform, in terms of warfare. That military figures came to her naturally, and even obtruded themselves against her will, a remarkable passage in the twentieth chapter of the *Life* bears witness. Describing the effects of rapture under the figure of *passer solitarius in tecto*, she suddenly finds herself talking about battle :

> And now comes the distress of having to return to this life. Now the soul has grown new wings and has learned to fly. Now the little bird has lost its unformed feathers. Now in Christ's name the standard is raised on high ; . . . the captain of the fortress has mounted . . . the highest of its towers, and has reared the standard aloft there in the name of God. From his position of security he looks down on those below. No longer does he fear perils ; rather he desires them, for through them, as it were, he receives the assurance of victory.

After this, for a time, she forsakes metaphor, but, four or five lines later, unconsciously returns to it :

> . . . The soul . . . prays to the Lord, giving Him the keys of its will.

Then, realizing that she has strayed into her favourite field again, and reverting to her earlier similitude of the garden, she exclaims :

> Behold, our gardener has become the captain of a fortress ![3]

It will now be understood how it is that, with the exception of the figure " road " (or " way "), which is often quite conventional, and three other common figures, those of water, fire and light, she uses the figure of battle more than any other—with two more exceptions, indeed, " sun (light) " and " flower," more than twice as often as any other. And besides those which can be grouped under the heading of battle (conflict, fight, skirmish, war, etc.), we have specific references to arms (or weapons), arrows, banners, cannon, captains, castles, chains (or fetters), chariots, flights, fortresses, garrisons, guards, guns, heralds, horsemen, knights, marches, prisons and prisoners, ransoms, soldiers, spears, standards and standard-bearers, swords, towers, vassals, and wrestlers. This must surely be a record number of military figures to be used by a woman.

Equally familiar to readers of St. Teresa is her affection for anything connected with water. This element is a natural enough symbol to occur to a dweller in parched Castile, where the very names of so many villages bears witness to its scarcity. As a child it had meant so much to her :

[1] *Way of Perfection*, Chap. VII.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Chap. XX.
[3] *Life*, Chap. XX.

she had had a picture of Our Lord at the Samaritan well (" which hung where I could always see it ") and would pray to God in the words of the inscription beneath it : *Domine, da mihi aquam.*[1] Of the three most famous of her extended figures, the first in chronological order is the similitude of the Waters, developed in the eleventh and following chapters of the *Life*, to which she often returns, notably in describing the Fourth and Sixth Mansions of the Interior Castle. Water, as we have seen, was one of the things which most " reminded her of the Creator,"[2] and in her letters she tells us how " refreshing " she found it to have a cell, as at Alba de Tormes, with a river view which she could enjoy from her bed,[3] or how " companionable " was the river which fringed the road along which she travelled.[4] So, quite apart from her main references to water, she draws for her illustrations upon aqueducts, buckets, conduits, dew, floods, fountains, lakes, mists, pools, oceans, rain, rivers and river-beds, seas, sources and springs, storms and tempests, streams, vapours, water-wheels and wells. And this is natural enough ; for, to quote her again :

> There are certain spiritual things which I can find no way of explaining more aptly than by this element of water ; for, as I am very ignorant, and my wits give me no help, and I am so fond of this element, I have observed it more attentively than anything else.[5]

These are the two groups of images upon which she commonly draws. Which come next in order of frequency it would be hard to decide. Small animals, birds and insects would come out very high on the list, partly because of the extended metaphor of the silkworm in the Fifth Mansions of the *Interior Castle* ; but even without this it is an observant nun who uses ants, bees, birds, butterflies, caterpillars, cobwebs, doves, ducks, eagles, flies, hedgehogs, hens, lizards, moths, reptiles, serpents, snakes and vipers, sparrows, sparrow-hawks, spiders, toads, tortoises, turtle-doves and worms. Clearly she was as much attracted by small creatures as by small persons. The only large animals which she mentions are the dragon, the horse, the lamb, the lion, the sheep—most of these only once or twice and without apparent interest. Her only flowers are carnations, roses, rosemary, thistles ; her only trees and plants the apple, the ivy, the laurel, the mulberry, the olive, the palm, the *palmito* and the vine. These seem to attract her much less than living creatures. Her use of both, as well as of more general images, such as " garden," " fruit," " orchard," is largely conventional. Particularly perfunctory is her use of flowers. It is with the " dry twigs " of the rosemary that she is concerned ;[6] thistles she mentions only symbolically, in association with

[1] *Life*, Chap. XXX.
[2] *Life*, Chap. IX.
[3] *Letters*, 51.
[4] *Letters*, 378.
[5] *Interior Castle*, IV, ii.
[6] *Relations*, III.

thorns[1]; and to the other two flowers she refers quite conventionally—" the flowers and carnations,"[2] " a bed of roses and flowers[3] "—as though she had mentioned the first two names that had occurred to her.

After these in importance would come images connected with, or suggestive of, fire (brand, brazier, candle, coal, comet, flame, fuel, furnace, spark), but these are often either stock items in the vocabulary of mysticism or words which have almost lost their figurative value. Closely related to fire-images are images connected with light—either light itself in some particular form or manifestation (daystar, illumination, lamp, lightning, spark, star, and—one of the most frequently used—sun), or objects which reflect light, such as crystal, diamond, glass, jewels or precious stones in general, mirror and pearl. Images of darkness are frequent, but are apt to stand in contraposition to those of light, in which case it is generally the latter that have the greater significance.

A comparative estimate of the frequency of metaphorical usage in St. Teresa's various works[4] shows that the book with the fewest illustrations is the *Foundations*. This, perhaps, we should expect of a plain narrative dealing with practical matters, and probably, if we limited ourselves to the strictly figurative, the number would be smaller still. Not far above the *Foundations* comes the *Relations*, a book describing the author's spiritual experiences, but also a plain narrative and containing none of these digressions which we find in the *Life* and which lend themselves so well to figured language.

These two works contain far fewer figures than any of the rest. Each page of the *Life*, even if we omit the numerous pages crammed with pictures of " gardens " and " waters," has nearly four times as many as each page of the *Relations*, and the average in the *Way of Perfection*, which comes next, is nearly six times as many. As we get farther and farther away from plain narrative, the proportion of figures increases. The *Conceptions of the Love of God*, as will be seen later, is much less expository and more hortatory in character than would be supposed from the title. It has a fraction more, page for page, than the *Way of Perfection*.[5] Next comes the *Interior Castle*, which in a sense is one single extended metaphor, and, if every figure were counted, would be by far the most abundant. Even if we omit all the numerous references to " castle," " mansion," and " marriage," the *Interior Castle* has nearly three times as many figures as

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[1] *Maxims*, I.

[2] *Life*, Chap. XIX.

[3] *Conceptions*, II.

[4] The *Letters* are excluded, as before, being neither a complete work nor an objective one.

[5] In the making of this computation, the frequent references to " cellar " and " kiss " are omitted.

the *Life*: on this basis, the average in the *Exclamations of the Soul to God* is about one-third higher still.[1]

One of the most striking features of St. Teresa's style is the abundance of short phrases, popular in type, which frequently, though not always, contain figures of speech, and therefore are appropriately considered here. Sometimes she invents them; sometimes they seem to be based on proverbs, or on sayings current in her day but now no longer so. She throws them off rapidly as she writes, hardly ever developing them, or returning to them even allusively. Except in the *Letters*, they nearly always have direct reference to spiritual experience, and, for some reason that I cannot account for, they occur much more frequently in the *Life* than elsewhere.[2] Sometimes they are not only vivid, but (in relation to the context in which they are used) daring, and occasionally some qualifying phrase is introduced to soften them. We expect God's love *a manos llenas, a manera de decir*—" great handfuls of it, as one might say.[3] The soul's progress in virtue is comparable to a *paso de gallina*, " a hen's pace."[4] It is God, not the soul, Who distributes the fruit of the spiritual garden, so that nothing " sticks to (i.e., remains in) its hands."[5] When the faculties are suspended, the soul " is left, as the phrase has it, in the air."[6] The soul with excessive spiritual ambition is apt to become " as dry as a stick "[7]—a picturesque way of referring to aridity. The soul that ought to be soaring like an eagle, but aims too low, " moves like a hen with its feet tied."[8] When temptations are numerous and fierce, " it has sometimes seemed to me that the devils behave as though they were playing ball with the soul, so incapable is it of freeing itself from their power."[9] But, when God's favour shines upon it, the devil can only " clap his hands to his head"[10]—i.e., in despair.

III

To make a comprehensive study of St. Teresa's syntax, even in outline, is too long and complicated a task for the writer of a brief essay. One can do no more than isolate and illustrate some of its salient features. This section will pick out three of the more striking of these—apostrophe, repetition and alliteration.

[1] The calculations in these two paragraphs are made on the number of images and illustrations on each page of my English translation: when the same image occurs several times on one page it is counted only once. This method is admittedly arbitrary, but I can think of no better one, and in any case, for the reason already given, the figures must be considered only approximate.

[2] It will be observed that all the illustrations in this paragraph are taken from the *Life*.

[3] *Life*, Chap. XI.

[4] *Life*, Chap. XIII.

[5] *Life*, Chap. XIX.

[6] *Life*, Chap. XXII.

[7] *Life*, Chap. XXII.

[8] *Life*, Chap. XXXIX.

[9] *Life*, Chap. XXX.

[10] *Life*, Chap. XXVI.

Right from the beginning of her career as a writer, St. Teresa has continual recourse to exclamation, and in particular to apostrophe, a practice undoubtedly attributable to her habit of writing as she thought and spoke. Her apostrophes vary from the purely ejaculatory ¡ *Válgame Dios* ! (" God help me ! "), often equivalent in Spanish conversation to no more than " Good heavens ! ", to long prayers, or reflective passages in the form of apostrophes directed to God, which may either interrupt the narrative or be, as it were, caught up in it. So characteristic is this feature of her style that it alone would probably distinguish her from any other writer. The variety of forms which it assumes is no doubt due to its being absolutely natural. As we study it in one of these forms, or in another, we are following the workings of her own mind.

Here, for example, is the first chapter of the *Life*, which, after describing the death of the writer's mother, ends with an apostrophe (" O my Lord . . .") of nine lines (in the English version) which shades off again into narrative. With this may be contrasted the ante-penultimate paragraph of the second chapter, which ends with the simple ejaculation : " Blessed be Thou, Lord, Who for so long hast suffered me ! Amen", and a similar ending to a narrative paragraph in the third : " May He be blessed for ever. Amen."

In the fourth chapter the narrative is broken by two long paragraphs (" O Supreme Good ! O my Rest ! . . .") which, beneath the surface, are reflective in character, and are followed by a resumption of the narrative in its most matter-of-fact form. A long paragraph of similar type ends the sixth chapter. In the seventh comes a long apostrophe (" O Lord of my soul ! . . .") which also adds something to the narrative. The eighth has a passage (" O infinite goodness of my God ! . . ."), completely devoid of colloquialisms, verging in places upon eloquence and more literary in type than any of the foregoing. Of similar quality is the paragraph (" O my Lord and my Good ! . . .") near the end of the fourteenth which is followed by a few sentences apologizing for these digressions and then accounting for them :

> Your Reverence must forgive me for wandering from my subject : as I am speaking with a purpose in my mind you must not be surprised. I am writing what comes to my soul ; and at times when, as I write, the greatness of the debt I owe Him rises up before me, it is only by a supreme effort that I can refrain from going on to sing praises to God.

It is hardly necessary to say that a writer who passed so easily from narrative to apostrophe or prayer passed no less (though not necessarily more) easily from narrative to reflection. Now in a paragraph, now in a single sentence, reflection invades narrative, after which the flow of the narrative continues as freely as though the reflective interpolations had been placed in the margin. It is only after a comparatively long digression that St. Teresa thinks it necessary to catch the narrative up with a phrase

like, " But, to return to what I was saying . . ." When she does so, it is because she has become so absorbed in her reflection as to lose the thread of her story.

Some of the most striking examples of this habit, in which, in the course of a paragraph or two, the phenomenon is repeated several times, are too long for quotation. Here is a shorter one, taken from the *Foundations*, which seems to be richer in examples than any of the other books, no doubt because it contains the largest proportion of pure narrative. It occurs at the beginning of the story of Casilda de Padilla, in favour of whom her elder sister renounced her inheritance :

> From childhood she had been so devoted to prayer . . . that she valued the estates as little as her brother had done. God bless me ! what trials, torments and lawsuits would many people have endured in order to succeed to this inheritance ! Some would even have risked their lives and reputations for it. And yet these young people had no light trials to suffer before they were allowed to give it up. The world is like that, and unless we are blind we soon discover how capricious it is. In order to be free from her inheritance, however, this girl renounced it with the greatest good will in favour of her sister, who was ten or eleven years of age, and was the only remaining heir.[1]

St. Teresa's second stylistic habit, which may quite fairly be termed a " device," is repetition. This is somewhat highly developed, and, as none of its forms can adequately be reproduced in a translation, it may be studied in some detail.

First we may note many cases of *simple* repetition, the aim of which seems to be emphasis. That St. Teresa was from childhood given to using repetition for this purpose we know from the story in the first chapter of the *Life* (which incidentally furnishes the earliest example of the device in her writings), describing how as a child she and her brother tried to grasp the idea of eternity by repeating again and again the words : ¡ *Para siempre, siempre, siempre !*[2] (" For ever - ever - ever ! ") She uses a similar technique in her exhortations, less frequently in reflection and prayer, and least frequently of all in narrative.

Another use of simple repetition, found in descriptive and reflective rather than in hortatory passages, seems also to aim at emphasis. Here, however, the device has a literary turn, of which the author is perhaps, at least partly, conscious.

Repetitive in type is St. Teresa's frequent use of series of nouns, verbs, or other parts of speech—sometimes actually repeating the same word, as in the first and last of the four examples which follow, sometimes not. This might be considered a semi-literary device, and it is hard to decide

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[1] *Foundations*, Chap. X.

[2] *Life*, Chap. I.

how far it is natural, but it is a device of the orator, rather than of the writer :

> But it is a gentle flight, a delectable flight, a noiseless flight.[1]
>
> The words . . . dispose the soul, and prepare it, and move (it), and give (it) light, and comfort (it) and quiet (it).[2]
>
> A refreshment sweet, invigorating, delectable, tranquil.[3]
>
> He can do all things, and commands all things, and rules all things, and His love fills all things.[4]

Finally, there is a repetitive device, involving a logical ellipsis, to which St. Teresa is greatly addicted, especially in her letters, and which is quite untranslatable. It assumes that the reader will supply a word represented in the Spanish by a pronoun—in English often by " that " or " so." Even to a Spaniard, it is not always clear to-day what word has to be supplied, and he has to look at the sentence twice before grasping its meaning. In the simplest form of the idiom the word not expressed is identical with a previous word and the substitution is easy ; but when, at the beginning of a new paragraph, St. Teresa exclaims : " Oh, my Father, and how many of them this house is costing me," and, to discover to what " them " refers, the reader has to retrace sixteen words of the preceding paragraph before finding another " them " and twenty-seven words in all before discovering that the substantive is " trials," the task of interpretation becomes harder.

St. Teresa's use of alliteration, though more curious than significant, is rather puzzling. Occasional allusive phrases, like *esas banderas y baraúndas* (" all that flag-waving and excitement ") are no doubt used intentionally, and certainly with effect ; others, such as *trabajos y tribulaciones* (" trials and tribulations ") were no doubt phrases in common currency used without thought of effect. But, apart from these and others like them, there are many more which are less easily explained. They occur continually in the *Life*, rather less in the *Way of Perfection* and *Interior Castle*, a great deal in the *Exclamations*, and only rarely anywhere else. And, curiously, they are apt to occur in great density over a passage several paragraphs long, and then, for some time, hardly at all. It is hard to consider them purely fortuitous, for the simple reason that there are so many of them. Between Chapters XXII and XXX, in particular, they strike even the casual reader. Hardly a page will be found without a crop of them. The explanation would seem to be that, in her early years as a writer, St. Teresa was attracted by verbal jingles, and used them for the most part quite unconsciously. As she grew older, they appealed to her less, and, equally unconsciously, she dropped them. This, however, of her few literary devices, is the one that her compatriots can best appreciate, and a foreigner ought not perhaps to go into it farther.

E. Allison Peers

[1] *Life*, Chap. XX. [2] *Life*, Chap. XXV. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Life*, Chap. XXVIII.

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

BY ELIZABETH BELLOC

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN was born in April, 1805, in Odense, a little walled city on the Danish island of Funen, or Fyn, in the Baltic Sea. Odense was a quaint survival of the Middle Ages, a world in miniature, having in itself all ranks and kinds of human society, from the castle with its governor, who was a real Prince, with soldiers and courtiers, down through the county gentlefolk and prosperous burghers, to the respectable and the unrespectable poor. Andersen belonged to the very last rank of the respectable poor. His father was a cobbler and his mother was a washerwoman; and over his childhood loomed the workhouse, the insane asylum, and the prison. And yet his was an enchanted childhood, whose magical happiness, exquisite and absurd, was proof against all these shadows. He was an only child: his father spoilt him and his mother adored him. His father's mother, the inevitable grandmother of all fairy tales, had a story, possibly true, that she was descended from a German noblewoman who had run away from home to marry an actor. She was the perfect grandmother, with gentian-blue eyes and a loving heart. Her husband had gone mad, and roamed the streets of Odense, wreathed with flowers and singing. She worked in the gardens of the local workhouse, and there she would take her little grandson, who would stray into the ward where a number of pathetic old women lay patiently waiting for death. However, it was not death, but life and laughter and rich entertainment which came in at the door with the fantastic little child whose future was to place him among the Immortals. He was tall for his age, with a shock of fair hair, tiny sunken eyes, and a big nose. At this moment in the nineteenth century, dissection had just begun in earnest, and the world was beginning to get its first clear general idea of what the human inside is really like. The child Hans, while he fascinated the old wives with his chatter, would take a piece of chalk and draw on the door strange designs of what he considered their internal economy to look like: a form of lecture which was rapturously appreciated by his audience. Into that vestibule of death he brought an earnest of the light and laughter and blessedness which the Beatitudes promise to the poor. And they rewarded him with endless recitals of the legends and folk-tales which were to make him famous later on.

His ideas for story-telling began to stir at an early age, and at one of the several futile little elementary schools which he attended he began to tell a story to a little girl he admired. But she was a horrid child. She stared at him rudely and said loudly to a companion: "He is mad, like his grandfather." All his life Andersen dreaded the pursuing shadow of insanity which he knew only too well was lurking in his heredity. One

day he strayed into the sinister wing of the workhouse where the insane were imprisoned. He looked in at a grating of a door and saw a mad-woman with long streaming hair. She sprang at him with a piercing shriek, and only just missed seizing him by the throat, a fearful image of the fate which all his life he was somehow just able to elude and survive.

His primitive, inspired, superstitious childhood gave him plenty to survive. Once his parents took him to sup with one of the jailors at the prison, with two thieves to wait on them at table. Hans was so overcome with the feeling of being inside a Robbers' Castle, dark and ominous, that he could eat nothing. Denmark had been Lutheran for three hundred years, but the poor still prayed at country shrines and went on pilgrimage to holy wells. Little Hans' mother, noticing his over-sensitive nervous system, took him for a cure to the Well of St. Regisse, where he was plunged into the ice-cold water and later wakened from sleep by the hysterical shrieks of a fellow-pilgrim who was terrified of thunder. Finding this soothing treatment to be a failure his mother took him to a wise woman who took magical measurements of his spidery arms and legs, and gave him a little bag to wear round his neck containing some churchyard earth and a mole's heart. When his father lay dying, his mother sent the eleven year-old child out along the river after dark to see his father's ghost—a revelation which was fortunately denied him. But when his father did die, three days later, the mother and child sat huddled by the icy corpse all night, while a cricket chirped loudly on the hearth. " Call him no longer," cried the mother to the cricket. " He cannot hear you. The Ice Maiden has taken him."

Two years later Hans' mother married again, and there were repercussions in the tiny one-room household. The step-father had no use for Hans who daily became more dreamy and imaginative. His father had read to him extensively : the Bible, Shakespeare, the Arabian Nights —and Hans was fired with ambition to be a writer, an actor, or a dancer and to achieve great fame. A fortune-teller had come to the house, and her words had encouraged him. " A wild high-flying bird he'll be," she said. " Something great and fine in the world. The time will come when all Odense will be illuminated for him."

Hans was now fourteen and he made plans to leave home and try his luck in Copenhagen. He broke open his china pig money-box containing all the savings of his childhood years, and it amounted to thirteen rix-dollars—that is about £1 18s. This seemed enormous wealth to him. He took also a letter of introduction which he had coaxed out of a printer in Odense called Iversen to a lady named Mme. Schall who had an important position in the Royal Ballet in Copenhagen. It was of little consequence that Mme. Schall had never come to Odense, nor had ever heard of Iversen. One early morning in September, 1819, the tall gawky lad came to the city gate, to catch the mail-coach to the sea-crossing, accompanied

by the two women whose love had made his childhood beautiful. There, in the " dark gateway," like the one so eerily described by Grimm in his story of *The Goosegirl*, he gave his mother a long farewell, and to the loved grandmother a farewell that was to be eternal.

II

In Copenhagen Andersen had three difficult years, picking up such help and patronage as he could find while he tried to study singing and acting. At last one of the happy chances, in which he firmly believed and which were to recur in his life as if in reward for his faith, put him in touch with Jonas Collin, a benevolent Director of the Royal Theatre and one of the King's Councillors. Collin won a grant from the King to provide Andersen with a good education. In 1822, the boy was sent off to the Latin School at Slagelse under the headmaster, Simon Meisling, whose Dickensian character lends substance to the wildest caricatures of the great English novelist. It was an instance of Nature imitating Art before that Art had yet appeared.

Hans, already seventeen, and enormously tall, towered above his rowdy classmates. The usual whackings were out of the question in his case, and Meisling had to resort to his bitter satirical tongue. But all his battery of coarse remarks were brought to bear in vain against Andersen's deep-founded charity and sweetness. His education went forward against odds, and he learnt Latin and mathematics, German and French. Above all, he could now get books, and he read enormously in Danish and German, and even in English. He read Scott and Smollett, and was fascinated by Byron. In his encouraging way Meisling told him that his writings would be burnt as waste paper and that he would end in the lunatic asylum. He also sent him with some of the older boys to see a public execution in a neighbouring town, as sights like these were thought to improve the young mind. It was a crime and execution somewhat in the style of *The Shropshire Lad*. A beautiful girl had persuaded her young man and a farm labourer to kill her father. The schoolboys watched the three driven through the town gates in a cart at dawn, the girl deathly pale and clasped in her lover's arms, the labourer sitting behind them, very sallow, with long black hair. When all three had been beheaded, the executioners regaled themselves on fried eels and gin.

Some time after this pleasant little Sixth Form outing, Hans' school years were completed, and he went with his usual courtesy to say good-bye to Meisling. He found his amiable headmaster sitting in his untidy study, with inky hands and dirty crumpled linen. " You can go to Hell," said Meisling. And Hans Andersen went to Copenhagen and immortal fame.

Many years later Meisling met Andersen in the street, and apologized " Yours is the glory," he said. " And mine is the shame." And Hans

Andersen, baptized in the name of Christian, forgave him easily and from his heart.

In Copenhagen he could regard the great half-timbered house of Jonas Collin as his home ; and the Collin children were like brothers and sisters to him, the fifteen-year-old Louise being his favourite. He published several poems and a little book of travel sketches, and on the proceeds of these he returned home to Odense for a long visit to his enraptured mother. They went visiting together among their acquaintances, she, alas, bowed by long hours of toil at the wash-tub, and wearing a large artificial curl to hide an eye blotted out by cataract.

In 1833, Hans was granted a travelling stipend by King Christian VIII, and went to Paris, Switzerland and Italy. Italy enchanted him especially, and influenced his writing by developing greatly his sense of form. He wrote a novel, *The Improvisator,* and another travel book. When he returned to Denmark, he asked Collin whether he should learn a profession, or take the road of Literature in earnest. Urging him to take the road of Literature, Collin answered him solemnly : " Go, in God's Name." And in God's Name Andersen went.

In 1835, he published his first Fairy Stories—four stories in pamphlet form which were his first steps into the regions of great fame. The four stories were : *The Tinder Box, Big Claus and Little Claus, The Princess and the Pea,* and *Little Ida's Flowers.* He had made an earlier attempt at a fairy story, publishing one called *The Dead Man* in a collection of poems issued about 1830. Its style was a deliberate plagiarism, imitating an eighteenth century German called Musäus, who holds the distinction of being the very first of all the folk-lorists and writers of fairy-tales. Naturally enough, the roots of nearly every nineteenth century phenomenon are to be found in the eighteenth century, and the obscure Musäus is the actual root of that enchanted tree whose finest blossoms are Andersen and Grimm. But the eighteenth century style with its rolling periods was fatal to the fairy tale, and *The Dead Man* remained deservedly and obstinately dead. He re-appeared, however, a vital and eternal being, in 1836, re-written as the deathless *Travelling Companion.*

It was the pamphlet of 1835 which was the great dividing milestone of Andersen's life. Its supreme genius was recognized at once by the two best Danish critics, Örsted and Heiberg. Örsted said : " *The Improvisator* will make you famous, but the Fairy Stories will make you immortal." Andersen had in his make-up an immense store of harmless vanity of the sort which re-acts creatively to praise, and after Örsted's dictum he wrote fairy stories for thirty-seven years. " *Smaating* " he called them : mere trifles, bagatelles. And to the end of his days he regarded them as such, and seriously thought that his plays and poems and novels (which he continued to publish) were much more valuable. But with the exception of one novel, all these have virtually disappeared, while the Fairy Stories, having an eternal quality, are for all time.

III

There are three especial elements in the quality of the Fairy Stories. The first is the mass of folk-stories and legends with which the old women in the workhouse had stored his mind at the most impressionable moment of his childhood. The second is the power of the Protestant Bible, frequently read to him by his father, and emphasized by his own nâif religious temperament. The third is his native genius, pure, simple, and direct, which saw all the ordinary objects of life lighted up with the sparkling magic of a childhood which was eternal and persisted in his heart to the end. Like a child, he saw nothing incongruous in the strange mixtures he offered. In his tales it is first Imagination, then the Soul, which illuminate murder and magic, Nature and fairies, trolls and angels, flowers and saucepans, sandhills and snowstorms, darning-needles and toys—and the holy spirit of God with and over all. Andersen's powerful genius drew all these materials together and brewed them into an immortal elixir.

There is a distinct difference between the folk-tales which he retold and his own original creations. The folk-tales often have a streak of cruelty and brutality which Andersen could never have engendered. This appears in the four re-written folk-tales, *The Tinder Box, Big Claus and Little Claus, The Travelling Companion* and *The Swineherd.* But there is a poetry which is peculiar to his beautiful soul, and which appears in his own original creations : *The Snow Queen, Little Ida's Flowers, The Nightingale, The Ugly Duckling* and *The Little Mermaid.* And yet the story which is perhaps the most beautiful of all, *The Wild Swans,* is a folk-tale re-told from Matthias Winther. And he uses folk-lore and legend as the basis of innumerable stories, the embellishment and telling of which are his own. Distinct among these are *The Girl who trod upon the Loaf,* and *The Elfin Mound. The Naughty Boy* is from the Greek poet Anacreon ; and *The Emperor's New Clothes,* with its fierce satire, is from Spanish sources, and the Spanish fierceness shows up in it, an alien thing. *The Storks* is also a story with a basis of folk-lore, and Andersen must have enjoyed writing it, because he loved the Dano-Egyptian storks, standing long-legged in the summer fields. It is not too fanciful to see a likeness between them, Andersen with his winged imagination standing long-legged in the fields of Literature.

The Snow Queen is entirely his own, and is one of the greatest stories of all time. The Powers of good and evil, and the great forces of Nature, move through it like mysterious shapes in a snow-storm. The religious touch appears to perfection when the child says the Our Father, and the breath of her prayer, hanging in the clear freezing air, takes the shape of guardian angels. The story was written during the especially snowy Danish winter of 1844. The little one-room house, at the beginning of the story, with its attic and window-garden is a description of his parents' house in Odense.

A happy stroke of genius in all the stories is his instinctive abandonment of the stiff pompous style of human speech invariably used by the eighteenth century novelists and story-tellers. His nâif direct use of human or fairy conversation, a faithful echo of the workhouse in Odense, had never been used before in literature, and it adds an incomparable light and clarity to his style.

The Little Mermaid is a completely original story. The only possible echo from anything earlier would be from Fouqué's *Undine*, who was a river-maiden. Heine had already peopled the Rhine with Lorelei, and Wagner had yet to be indebted to Heine. But mermaids may be truly said to be Andersen's gift to the sea. There is an exquisite bronze mermaid on a rock in Copenhagen harbour, commemorating this supreme creation.

There is folk-lore and legend in two remarkable stories which are of the soul rather than of fairyland. The first is *The Marsh-King's Daughter*, with its strange formless plot, full of the chattering of storks, and mixed and broken like a dream, through which the reader makes a way, as the bewitched girl in the story makes her way through the forest. The ghost of a martyred Christian priest goes before her through the dark forest, and leads her to final safety. There is a strange unearthly power in the story which is somewhat weakened by the unstable plot. But there is no such weakness in the second story, a soul-shaking masterpiece called *Anne Lisbeth*, which has a force in it like a gale from the North Sea. It is the tragic story of a human responsibility which has been long evaded, but which has to be faced at last. The setting is the wild desolate shore of Jutland. There is a touch in it as powerful as Virgil's haunting line about the Queen of Carthage seeking her Tyrians " along a lonely shore."

Andersen's fame increased steadily. He was granted a sufficient fixed income by the King, and he began to indulge his taste for dressing quite perfectly. He had several romances but never married. *The Nightingale* was inspired by his love for the singer, Jenny Lind.

He paid a visit as guest of honour to Lund University, and later, as an old man, to his native Odense, which was illuminated in his honour as the gipsy had foretold. He lived long enough to witness the unveiling of a memorial to himself, a statue-group in bronze of himself telling stories to some little children. But he objected to the children ! One of the most delicious and unexpected things about him was the fact that, child though he was himself, he never really liked children. But he liked their passionate appreciation of his gift. In old age he said to a friend : " The small school-children, and not the Latin scholars, will naturally follow me to the grave. So set my funeral march to the tramp, tramp of the feet of little children."

Andersen's long life closed, full of love and honour, in August, 1875. He died in his sleep while staying with friends near Copenhagen in a house called Rolighed, which means Quietude.

ELIZABETH BELLOC

RESALE PRICE MAINTENANCE

BY MICHAEL J. MACCORMAC, M.A.

OVER the past few years the rising cost of living, coupled with evidence submitted to the Price Control Commission, has made the public more aware of the effects of restrictive trade practices. With the change of government in Great Britain legislation on Resale Price Maintenance has been postponed indefinitely but, in view of the fact that in this country a bill to deal with the subject is now being drafted, a review of the economic effects of the practice in Ireland in the light of considered British experience is opportune. The systems operating in both countries are basically alike and are functioning in the framework of a similar legal environment.

In 1948, the Restrictive Practices Act claimed the support and credit of all political parties in Great Britain, and the Monopolies Commission was established to enquire into matters concerning the supply of goods, and to consider remedies necessary for the protection of the public. In the same year, also, the Board of Trade Committee on Resale Price Maintenance was at work on the narrower field of resale margins, fixed by producers or suppliers, and their effect on the economy. By June 1949, the latter Committee had issued their report[1] and in December 1950, came the first report of the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission on the supply of Dental Goods. In June 1951, the British Government issued a policy statement[2] on Resale Price Maintenance which foreshadowed legislative action. The statement came as a result of the recommendations of an inter-departmental working-party which had examined the possible measures in the light of economic events and consequences.

It has been estimated by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research that in 1938 approximately 30 per cent of domestic consumer or private expenditure was on articles and commodities, the final prices of which were fixed or recommended by the manufacturer. There is no study of this subject which disagrees with this estimate of the overall importance of the problem, but it is obvious, with at least one-third of the retail trade covered, that many different methods of maintaining prices are in existence, not all of which may be treated as inimical to the public interest, if, in fact, any of the systems may be so regarded.

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[1] Report of the Committee on Resale Price Maintenance 1949. CMD. 7696.

[2] Board of Trade Statement on Resale Price Maintenance 1951. CMD. 8274.

I

"Resale Price Maintenance is a trade practice by which shopkeepers and dealers have to sell goods at prices laid down by the manufacturer or other supplier and are not free to settle their own selling price in the light of their own circumstances."[1]

It is important to distinguish clearly the various methods of price maintenance; the merits and demerits of each system may be then adjudged with an eye to the economic consequences. The producer may tacitly recommend the price to the distributor either by stamping it on the article or by enclosing it with the goods, but may take no active steps to ensure that this is, in fact, the price charged. Alternatively, he may *prescribe* the price and take active measures to enforce it. The measures taken may be in combination with other producers, or may be carried on singly. The former case of associative price maintenance is the most usual. The enforcement is carried out normally by a Trade Association which may include in its membership both distributors and manufacturers: it is to the growth and operation of Trade Associations that resale price maintenance owes its origin.

Retail traders' competition in former days was considered by economists as an essential of the economic system and as unshakeable as it was useful. With the appearance of branded goods which came to be sold in numerous retail outlets, differences from normal prices were noticed and in face of the growth of price-cutting, it was not unnatural that established retail traders should try to maintain stable trading conditions and to uphold their position in the distributive system.

The main type of distributor principally concerned was the specialist, the small independent retailer, e.g. chemist, tobacconist. To ensure their trading margins the specialists combined into associations with the object of securing for *bona fide* or recognized traders a fair return commensurate with the services they render. Resale Price Maintenance seemed the most convenient instrument for this purpose, if properly enforced; for, if they could not prevent the goods from being sold by other retailers, they could at least ensure that the price was the same as theirs. Resale Price Maintenance, therefore, in its earlier stages consisted in the attempts of these distributors' associations to organize themselves in such a way as to bring pressure on manufacturers of branded lines to fix and enforce retail prices for their goods. The retailers hold that they supply expert service which could not be maintained in a situation of acute price competition; firms of real value to the community often have a heavy percentage of their capital bound up in slow selling goods and may be put out of business in face of the price-cutter. The cycle trader, for example, claims that it is necessary for him to be guaranteed freedom from cut-throat competition and a high margin on the sale of cycles, accessories and tyres

[1] CMD. 8274.

in order that he may give an efficient service both in repair and a good range of stocks.

Support to the general movement was given by the wholesalers who maintain that they must hold large stocks to supply the retailer with a minimum of delay; and that this service cannot be rendered efficiently where there is price competition.

Manufacturers, urged on by distributor organizations and realizing at the same time the advantages of stability which would accrue to them, evolved increasingly water-tight schemes of price maintenance.

When a trade association is sufficiently strong to take effective action, " a protected list " is established which is agreed to by the manufacturers and wholesalers. Once an article is placed on the protected list, the supplier has a guarantee that it will not be sold below the stipulated price. There may be a separate manufacturers' organization or a suppliers' section of the distributors' organization, but in either case once price-cutting by a member has been reported, the offender will be denied supplies from the manufacturer concerned or from all the affiliated suppliers.[1]

Agreement on the rate of discount is of greatest importance to the distributor who now concentrates on getting the highest allowance from the manufacturer rather than on buying his goods efficiently and selling at what the market will bear. Some associations determine a scale of discounts for different types of distributor,[2] and often compile a register of distributors who may receive these discounts. In certain cases also the association specifies certain conditions with which the retailer must comply before he can qualify for the approved discount; and also, in some trades, compliance with the conditions alone does not satisfy as the executive may decide that the area in which the applicant operates is already overcrowded. Many associations claim that their emphasis is more on restriction of entry than on price maintenance, but this limitation of entry could not exist without the sanctions associated with price maintenance.[3] In the motor trade, for example, a certain area is prescribed as the minimum size of garage and each distributor must give a certain standard of service, e.g. must employ a fully qualified mechanic. If distributors do not comply with the conditions they will be excluded from the association and consequently from supplies.

The argument in trades where goods of a technical nature are handled, (e.g. refrigerators, bicycles, motor cars, washing machines, vacuum cleaners etc., and in general, goods which have a relatively long life and need technical servicing and salesmanship) is that manufacturers of such

[1] Vide Hermann Levy *Retail Trade Associations* (Keegan Paul, 1942), Chs. 13 & 14.

[2] Cunliffe L. Bolling *Sales Management*, 1927, p. 105. "A manufacturer of strings for musical instruments might allow a discount of 10% to a professional musician, 20% to buyers for large orchestras, and 30% to shopkeepers who purchase strings for resale ".

[3] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. II, Ch. 5. " Shopkeepers and tradesmen .... can never be multiplied so as to hurt the public, though they may so as to hurt each other ".

technical lines rely for continued sales on the goodwill of the customers which arises from successful performance over a period of years. They are anxious to see that the products are handled only by properly equipped distributors, the cost of whose operation is relatively high. The low-cost distributor in this case is not necessarily the most efficient and neither the manufacturer nor the public gains in such a case from cut-throat price competition.

II

An old Chinese proverb says " It is easy to open a shop but hard to keep it open." Looking at resale price maintenance from the point of view of the small retailer, it is easy to understand his acceptance and adherence to the various pricing schemes. He gets security in margin, and his sales problem is restricted to the manipulation of his own cost structure. He does not have the additional worry of varying his price to suit the demand. The shopkeeper, on the other hand, has not the freedom to vary his price against a competitor, but he will normally have the protection of the trade association with its limitation of entry which will, *ceteris paribus*, give him his requisite volume of sales.

Among small shopkeepers who deal mainly in commodities unprotected by a rigid price restriction there seems to be a considerably greater percentage of failures. Though their failures undoubtedly involve hardship for the individuals concerned, they result in the cutting out of unnecessary shops and in the increase in efficiency of the survivors. In passing, we may mention that there has been no sociological study of the small shopkeeper. Without this study it is difficult to estimate the value of the small shopkeeper to his local community, to judge whether he is an asset or a burden.

The most efficient retailers, the low-cost retailers whose costs of distribution give ample room for price reductions, are in the minority, not only in number but in aggregate turnover.[1] Thus the manufacturer must protect the main mass of both average and high-cost retailers if he is to preserve unimpaired his channels of distribution. This preservation of the majority of members is the basic principle of all associations, and once accepted as logical by producers there is little danger that the cost structure of the efficient retailer will become the basis of pricing.

In granting ample margins to the rank and file retailer the trade associations run the risk of increased competition by new entrants but this is countered by the rigid entry conditions and membership sanction. It may be, however, that the " excessive " number of shops is the effect rather than the cause of associative price maintenance.

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[1] Vide Hermann Levy, op. cit. p. 131.

The preservation of the average retailer is even more essential with the growth in the power of the co-operatives and multiple stores, as the manufacturer may feel his whole existence endangered by the possible production by the large concerns of their own brands.

From the manufacturers' point of view price maintenance has several attractions. In the first place, consumers tend to associate brand names and fixed prices with quality. Once a manufacturer establishes a reputation for quality, he can budget for a fairly steady and fixed demand for his goods. In the view of most manufacturers, the price-cutter destroys the impressions of uniform quality and thereby undermines sales. They claim that this is especially true where extensive publicity is given to loss leader sales i.e. sales where two tubes of tooth-paste or shaving soap are sold at little more than the price of one with a view to attract custom to a shop.[1] Producers feel that customers will become suspicious of quality when they see the article sold at a lower price, but it can be argued that once a brand has convinced the public of its quality, a reduction in price will encourage the consumer to switch from the unbranded or loose article to the branded, the quality of which is certain. Price-cutting may also introduce the marginal consumer to quality benefits of the branded name.

Manufacturers can best insure that their goods will be stocked by numerous retail shops in all districts if they fix a price that will yield an attractive return even to the distributor with a small turn-over. When handling goods that are bought on impulse, e.g. chocolate, magazines, it is essential that the widest distribution be secured. With a rigidly controlled price offering an attractive return, even the most inefficient retailer will make sure to stock the articles.

Formerly, when goods were offered in competition, cheaper prices were looked upon as a boon to the consumers. The shopkeeper who was able to reduce his prices was regarded as efficient and, if we except loss leader selling and advertizing campaigns, there was indeed good reason so to regard him. To-day, shopkeepers regard such competition in retail prices as destructive of the entire trade. Is this new view justifiable? If a shopkeeper has evolved a more efficient and cheaper method of distribution than his competitors, why should he not be able to pass on the benefits of his efficiency to the consumers in cheaper prices instead of providing the consumer with amenities he neither demands nor needs?

If price competition existed, the consumer would get the benefit not only of cheaper prices but also of more efficient methods of distribution.

[1] In the Report of the Board of Trade on Resale Price Maintenance, CMD. 7696, the opinion is expressed that loss leader selling did not produce any "permanent advantage" to manufacturers, retailers or the public. But is it of interest to note the view put forward by Mr. Henry Smith in his Addendum in the Report p. 35, "I am not convinced that the practice of selling at uniform retail prices does not contribute to the problem by providing a background against which price cutting is obvious and thus strategically effective."

Resale price maintenance does not enable the distributor to pass on lower costs to the consumer in the form of lower prices, and the system, as it exists, may retard the introduction of modern innovations such as self-service shops.

III

Where amenities and service are reduced to a minimum, the public expect lower prices ; but, as the maintained price must by its very nature be similar in all types of shops, there is no opportunity to pass on the economies in price reduction. The question, therefore, arises how is the resale price fixed and in relation to what costs is the discount or margin set. The fact that some trade-mark products are not price maintained is because the manufacturers admit that they do not know enough about the distribution costs. Uniform retail prices are normally high prices which are fixed in relation to the high cost retailer. In evidence before the recent Board of Trade Committee, manufacturers and distributors said that margins on price maintained goods are fixed by reference to the costs " of the ordinary distributor of average efficiency " ; in support of fixed prices they alleged that costs in the retail trade vary only slightly from the average. Therefore, the argument ran, the great bulk of distributors " operate on almost identical expenses."

This contention is, taken over a broad field, quite false and misleading in its application to retailers' cost structure. Retailers' costs do vary considerably from shop to shop. The standing charges such as rents, rates, wages, lighting, etc. vary according to the geographical location of the shop, e.g. whether it be city, suburban or rural. These charges may remain relatively stable for any given shop over a period, possibly increasing slightly if turnover rises substantially, but items such as rent and wages are by no means similar in different locations.

Furthermore, other charges, over which the retailer has direct control, will be varied directly in accordance with the policy of the particular shop. Credit facilities or extensive delivery services may or may not be provided but the difference in cost between the shop offering such services and the retailer operating on a cash and carry basis is quite substantial. As further proof of the differential costs between one shop and another it was reported in *The Economist* (11 June, 1949) that within one multiple trading firm the costs of the lowest and highest cost branches were in the proportion of 100 and 240.

In the case of branded goods which may reach the consumer through varying channels there should be no presumption that the cost of distribution in various outlets is similar. Toilet preparations, tobacco, confectionery, and canned goods reach the consumer through shops which may be regarded as chemists, confectioners or grocers. In such different trades the average percentage gross profit which may be looked on as an

index of cost varies considerably; grocery, for example, is commonly regarded as possessing a margin of 15%—20%, chemists 20%—33⅓%, confectionery 15%—25%, while in tobacco the level is normally less than 10%. A manufacturer distributing a product through each of these types of outlet could not fix his price with reference to the normal costs or margins expected by the "average distributor".

As yet there is little attempt by retailers' associations to set up uniform accounting throughout the various trades in order to get easily determinable costs; hence manufacturers cannot look forward in the near future to greater assistance in the matter. The majority of retailers do as little book-keeping as possible and an analysis and summary of their costs does not seem a very approachable goal. The fixing of the margin, which is the major concern of both manufacturer and retailer where goods are price maintained, depends therefore purely on the bargaining efficiency of both sides with a general estimate of what the retail trade will bear. The situation is full of difficulties—if the margin is fixed too high there will be an influx of newcomers, or undercutting, and if too low, there will be an inducement to retailers to look for other suppliers or concentrate on other lines of business.

So long as there is no limitation of entry, price maintenance is no protection from the evil of competition; it is merely a costly and wasteful burden on the public. In effect, therefore, price maintenance for protection purposes is allied to limitation of entry in the strength of trade associations.

IV

Prices provide the guide to profitability of industrial openings, and the market values of the majority of commodities and services give some indications to the investor. Assuming a non-planned economy, the allocation of capital investment and the distribution of labour-power depend on the free working of the price mechanism and are used to the greatest public advantage only where price rivalry exists. Under the complexities of modern industrial society there are numerous factors which obstruct these spontaneous adjustments, and resale price maintenance is one further damper which perhaps unnecessarily upsets the working of the economic system.

The great difficulty in the formulation of legislation would seem to lie in the framing of rules which would allow the individual manufacturer to prescribe his price in order to maintain his brand reputation, but which would prevent him from combining with other manufacturers in creating large-scale stop lists and sanctions, and would prevent associations of distributors from combining to preserve the existing trade structure by resale price maintenance. The value of this distinction between the two types of price maintenance was underlined by the Lloyd-Jacob Committee, appointed by the British Board of Trade. The committee took the view

that the impact on the economy of individual price maintenance schemes and of collective schemes is different. With regard to schemes administered by individual producers the committee was of opinion that the manufacturer of the branded article should be entitled to use resale price maintenance schemes to protect the reputation of his brand and to prevent its use as " loss leaders ". The committee, however, condemned schemes administered collectively : " collective price maintenance schemes appear to us to have led to the comprehensive regulation of competition in the distributive trades and to have impeded the development of economical measures of trading and prevented the reduction of distributive costs and prices." Even in the case of individual schemes the committee recommended that these should not hinder other manufacturers or prevent the emergence of more economical distributive methods. These additional limitations were designed to prevent the growth of larger monopoly industry at the expense of individual competitors.

Resale price maintenance cannot be condemned in principle since there are obvious merits and demerits in the system. It is extremely difficult to foreshadow the effects of prohibition or partial prohibition of the practice on the economic structure. The great difficulty in this country is that there has never been a comprehensive public enquiry into trade practices : the lack of reliable information is the great barrier to definitive conclusions. Holland is one of the few countries where information is comparatively readily available or may be obtained from large manufacturers and distributors. In Ireland, there is a deep-seated reluctance on the part of businessmen to divulge information to enquirers and even when the obstacle of silence has been overcome one discovers in most cases a surprising lack of knowledge on the distributive problem under examination. The forthcoming Census of Distribution will fill part of this gap but there will still remain a field of secrecy about which one can only generalize. Unless more definite information is available to legislators, a piecemeal approach may lead to economic disruptions with few direct beneficial effects.

MICHAEL J. MACCORMAC

A DEFENCE OF MEMORIZING

BY LUCY DUGGAN

MANY people allege that, in the schools of Ireland, children are taught only to learn by heart; that they bring away with them a parrot-like erudition and no more—at best an accumulation of half-understood facts; and that, as the phrase goes, they are never taught how to think. In the middle decades of the twentieth century people are ready to question some of the educational tenets of the nineteenth. One hundred years ago, it was generally accepted that children went to school to "learn their lessons"; only the progressives of those days felt that "learning lessons" was scarcely an end in itself. Since the educational upheaval at the beginning of this century memorizing has become the object of a strong pedagogic prejudice, exaggerated and in many ways unfounded. Memory work, it is argued, is dull and laborious. It can never produce any other but imitative or repetitive action. It can never result in advance; at best it will enable the student to rest within the hoarded wisdom of his forbears. It is surely better, it is argued, to encourage a child to be constructive so that he may get into the habit of thinking creatively.

In Ireland, complaints like these are often heard during the months of April and May when parents observe with sorrow the efforts of their fourteen and fifteen-year-olds to learn many things by heart so that, during the early part of June, they may deal successfully with the examination papers for the Intermediate Certificate. Many of the children become bored and fatigued. The children associate these bad effects—and so do the parents—with the mental effort of "getting off" large chunks of material in the five to eight subjects in preparation. A feeling grows that something is wrong either with the Intermediate Certificate programme or with the method of teaching for it. Parents wonder whether all this "learning by heart" is really necessary. Should school children be required to undertake these feats of memory? Is it possible to educate without giving pupils memory exercises? If memory work can be avoided, is it not misguided and cruel to keep a child applied to his books during the beautiful evenings of April and May? Should not the schools foster intelligence—whose manifestations seem to be effortless—rather than memory, the functioning of which involves so much wearisome toil?

In the attitude behind this questioning, there is justice enough to make it dangerous. It may be conceded at once that the exclusively written nature of the Intermediate Certificate Examination places too great a

premium on memory work. Nevertheless much memory work there must be in any scheme of sound schooling. Memory is no mean faculty nor should its function be poorly esteemed. Unless people carry many facts in their minds they will not be able to think to much purpose; remembering is indispensable to thinking, even more indispensable than understanding is to remembering.

Memory is not the highest human faculty. Intelligence is both man's highest mental activity and his essential mental function. By virtue of its capacity to elevate its object out of space and time, it shares the nature of the Divine. Memory plays a humbler part. It is the Martha of the mind in the absence of whose efficient service intelligence would find it impossible to achieve smoothly its own assigned end. Dependent on the senses, it can never soar into the regions of timeless reality where intellect reigns because it is bound by the shackles of time and accident to the concrete and the perceived. It is the willing handmaid of intellect to which it proffers constantly the material of thought. Intelligence cannot advance except hand-in-hand with memory whose recollections are useful to it in proportion to the good order of their groupings and connections, and according to their clear placing in a graded scale of values. Constructive thought cannot proceed unless many facts as well as habits are present in a person's mind; originality and creative ability are more likely to show themselves if preceded by thorough practice in imitation.

To progress in a subject, the retention of many facts is necessary. Without them reason has nothing to work on; possessing them, it has the bricks to build, whether the buildings are to be hovels or castles. Moreover it is not sufficient to know where facts may be found, to have developed an "index" memory. Of the "index" memory the progressives speak highly; they feel that, instead of requiring students to remember the contents of books, teachers should direct them in the use of books and should be satisfied when the student knows where to find information. To know the use of books is excellent; it is not enough as a preparation for serious attempts at constructive thought. Only on the facts which the mind carries can reason operate, and only from these facts can it select. The wider the view which the mind can take, i.e., the greater the number of relevant facts which it can survey at any one time, the better will be the sense of proportion it is likely to exhibit and the higher will be its constructive achievement. Accordingly—other factors being equal—he who remembers best, reasons best. Despite the claims for the efficacy of intelligence testing, probably the best index of the power of the higher mental processes is to be arrived at by observation of the results of long periods of study with material that has become thoroughly familiar and thoroughly assimilated. Obviously, such achievement—which includes all eminence in study—must imply much reproductivity for "all prolonged operations are really made up of brief ones and all the said

familiarity must needs derive from the establishment of (memorial) dispositions."[1]

The function of memory has many aspects. They include the " habit " verbal memory of a nursery rhyme, the retention of the arguments employed in the solution of a geometrical problem, the substance memory of a narrative, the muscular memory necessary for hurling and horse-riding, the recognition of tastes and smells, the retention for a life-time of a child's impression (though the retention may lie deep in the sub-conscious and appear above the surface only as the result of shock or of skilled questioning). All these are manifestations of the memory function ; each is a complete or partial memorial act and they are all similar in that each involves an original imprinting, a retention, a recognition or recall and an identification of present consciousness with past experience.

In the study of different subjects, the ratio between the " amount " of memory work and reasoning varies. Even in subjects whose study involves a relatively high content of reasoning, much memory work is imperative as well. Arithmetical tables, formulae, rules and remembered exercises are necessary for mathematics. Geographical theories cannot be formulated without much information about physical features and laws of climate. In history, significance of events cannot be appreciated or interpreted unless names, dates, family relations and laws are at recall. The acquisition of a new language is largely a question of verbal association and the building up of a vocabulary. Even literary appreciation and oral and written expression in the vernacular are better for a retention of verbal and literary forms.

At the beginning of a subject especially, there is a period during which a very high proportion of the work has to be done by memory. Facts, presented by books or by a teacher, are accepted by the student and retained. Only when much work of this kind has been accomplished can intellectual initiative be expected. As study advances and as capacity for creative work becomes greater, the opportunities for intelligence increase. Dependence on memory never ceases but, as study progresses, the tendency is that memory contributes less and intelligence contributes more to each quantum of knowledge which is acquired.

A man's ability to tackle a new problem depends in general on the knowledge at his disposal. That knowledge he acquired, in part by the retention of information collected from various sources, in part by putting the accumulated information through the mill of his intelligence and so providing himself with new products and techniques. The contributions which memory and intelligence make to the sum of his knowledge on any subject may be likened to the contributions which a and b make to the continuing terms in the expansion of $(a+b)^n$. Consider that a stands for memory and b for intelligence and (to push the analogy farther and possibly

[1] Cf. *Abilities of Man.* Spearman, p. 272.

too far) that n stands for the number of periods of study. a and b may have different values for different individuals. When n is equal, say, to 9, the expanded expression (omitting the coefficients[1]) reads $a^9 + a^8b + a^7b^2 + - - -$ which may be interpreted as follows :—after one period of study, the amount achieved may be estimated altogether in terms of a (memory); a^8b represents the character of the knowledge acquired in the second period of study; that is to say, it shows the sources or the channels from which the components of the knowledge acquired come. Memory is still responsible for the major part of the acquisition, but intelligence has begun to make contributions. As the terms go on, intelligence becomes a relatively more important factor in each successive term while the contributions which memory makes grow smaller. The contributions of memory will disappear eventually at the stage when no more knowledge on the subject studied is to be won from garnering the facts left scattered in the records of earlier research workers. All the acquisitions of knowledge will have to be stored in the memory, those brought by intelligence as well as those obtained from an outside source. They will all have to be held in the memory ready for recall when wanted.

Different materials and different tools may be needed for different tasks. A carpenter who is called on to make a simple kitchen table may not need to take from the storehouse of his memory more than the knowledge represented by the first few terms in the expansion. The carpenter who has to make a Sheraton table will have to draw on more terms and on terms which occur later in the expansion. Sheraton himself when he first made a table of the pattern which is now called after his name had to draw on still later terms. But the equipment which the carpenter and Sheraton brought initially to their different tasks came from the storehouse of their memory and the success of each depended on how intimate and ready a knowledge he had of what was in the storehouse. And what is true of carpentry may be considered true also in relation to other forms of knowledge.

Factual knowledge then must be acquired and retained. Youth is emphatically the time to devote to its acquisition : the first two decades constitute the great learning periods of a person's life during which the fundamental skills, information and knowledge should be obtained. The secondary school years fall well within the time during which memorizing capacity is vigorous and improving ; it is the time for storing the mind with the content on which a person's mental activity will depend. " From his entrance into the kindergarten to his departure from the University," writes Spearman, " the chambers of the student's memory are being uninterruptedly stored with all the information that his educational

[1] The coefficients may be omitted because consideration at present is of the character and qualities of the component parts of the knowledge acquired rather than of the "amount" of each part.

governors hold to be of the highest value. And even afterwards, conversation, reading and thought still carry on the accumulation."

Trouble sets in when memorizing is mistakenly taken to be an end in itself, a sort of mental stock-piling of remembrances which lie static and inert until they are brought to the surface of consciousness by a voluntary or involuntary act of recall. Such a metaphor implies that the only thing a student can do, indeed the only thing anyone is capable of doing, is to accumulate remembrances. The truth seems to be however that remembering is a process during which the mind, in conformity with the subject's social, intellectual, emotional and ethical outlook, keeps on assimilating, organizing and even transforming its memorial content so that, while submerged in the undermind, it is being incessantly subjected to the " sea-change " which objective fact customarily undergoes when viewed through the medium of a personality.[1] Far from being static, memorial dispositions appear to be capable of taking on colour or losing it, of changing their natures from pleasurable to painful, of increasing or decreasing in intensity or of wasting away to nothing. The determining condition seems to be the quality of the company in which they find themselves. " There is not the slightest reason to suppose," writes Bartlett, " that each set of incoming impulses, each new group of experiences persist as isolated members of some passive patchwork." (*Remembering*, p. 201). It is only in the ideal concept that memory is mere reproductivity.

The characteristics of knowledge learned by heart seem to be different. Knowledge so acquired seems to be more static and more rigidly pigeonholed than knowledge acquired by other means. That quality is both its defect and its advantage. On the one hand what is learned by rote does not so readily ally itself with its neighbouring mental content but, as it were, lies in state unaffected by its environment. Largely impervious to influences (like white colonists in a coloured country) such rote knowledge lives on without change or development. Educational tradition accordingly recognizes rote memory as a fitting medium for the acquisition of those facts which we must carry with us unchanged all through life ; children therefore learn by heart the questions and answers of the Catechism, the verbatim words of the great poets, the arithmetical tables and the fundamental bases of many sciences.

What is living and dynamic—and memories share the nature of the living mind—may be classified and organized and nurtured. The mind's power and habit of organizing its content is an important consideration for the teacher. He may be powerless to do anything towards enabling a student to increase his actual capacity for remembering, but he can help greatly by showing the student how to make memory a more efficient

[1] There can be no doubt that, with time, recollections take on a different complexion. Witness the nostalgic interest and pleasure with which an adult reviews the canings of his childhood or with which the old soldier looks back to the trenches in which he sheltered in discomfort as a young man.

member in the team of mental functions which the mind directs. An accumulation of facts there must be. Let the teachers see to it that the facts are well organized, that their retention is consistently vivified by frequent recall, that none of them are " inert " which need not be, and that they are acquired in accordance with a wise economy of time and effort.

The mind is capable of retaining both meaningful and meaningless material. The retention of meaningful material—usually the student's greater concern—necessitates organized associative connection between the various memorial impressions and these associations form the basis for voluntary recall. Retention is of little practical advantage unless it is accompanied by the power of voluntary recall; therefore the important thing for life is the capacity for logical, meaningful organization of memorial contents. This depends on our capacity to appreciate the comparative significance of memorial acquisitions and is a matter completely apart from retention. Organization cannot exist without retention for there will be little to organize, but we can have a high degree of retentive capacity and fail to make full use of it through want of the organization which helps selective recall.

In teaching it is easy to make too much of the accumulation of facts and too little of their organization; it is important to remember that knowledge should grow not like a cairn of stones but like a climbing plant. Every item of information acquired should, so to speak, be provided with roots and tendrils, the roots to attach it firmly to what the mind already possesses, the tendrils to seek out and be ready to draw to the existing knowledge facts yet to be acquired. If this is consistently done, knowledge will shape itself as a comely edifice; if this is neglected, the mind will become like a dump of rags and bones. A child usually needs direction and advice as to how he may best submit the ordering of his mental content to the discriminative and formative energy of intelligence; he should be instructed that good remembering goes with lively interest, clear thinking and close attention, that efficient recall goes with orderly arrangement.

It is precisely here that children are often found wanting, particularly dull children. Even at an early age, the human mind carries with it a bewildering network of interweaving associations; consider only the hundreds of associations which cling to every familiar word, which weave words together and colour them. Every act of learning should consist not so much in the addition of one link to another in a long chain as in the organization of a mental *schema* (to use Head's term) in which each item has its allotted place and is endowed with colour and significance in accordance with the mind's own individuality. The mind of the backward child is particularly weak in this very capacity for mental organization; he finds difficulty in discriminating between the essential and non-essential, between the relevant and irrelevant, between the important and unimportant. He

finds difficulty in seeing connections and in estimating the strength of relationship. He is inclined to fail therefore in the selection of his data for deductions and, as a consequence, in his power to come to conclusions. Even an intelligent child usually needs guidance here. A teacher who helps children to conquer difficulties of this kind will be conferring on them a great benefit. Unless the student can be taught to produce order in his mental content, he will possess nothing but a medly of recollections without organization or pattern which will be largely unavailable for recall during the time, long or short, that they remain with him. And he will develop into one of the Mrs. Nicklebys of social life.

The contents of memory may be nurtured, and the best way to do this is by frequent recall. If a child has enough interest in a recollection to take pleasure in drawing it often to the surface of his mind and dwelling on it, he will increase indefinitely its lifetime ; if the same recollection is allowed to lie neglected in the depths of his subconscious, it may fade quickly for want of attention. Herein lies one of the good pedagogic results which come from interest.

If the ordering and nurturing of mental content is well accomplished, there will be less of the " inert ideas," whose acquisition Professor Whitehead has so ably attacked. If all ideas are bound firmly together with meaningful connections, each will take vitality from its fellows. It is only unrelated ideas that clutter up the mind uselessly. In this connection however, the teacher's power to help a child is limited sharply. It is one of the qualities of the human memory to be unselective ; memory picks up and discards its material capriciously (or, at all events, in accordance with laws which nobody understands). In Bergson's words, " the piling of the past upon the past goes on without relaxation . . ." Every mind carries lumber. The teacher can however refrain from causing the child to undertake troublesome voluntary efforts to add to that lumber ; in addition, he can endeavour to impart to the child some discrimination between the useful and the useless. No teacher can do much more in this connection ; it would be too much to hope that in the mental edifice each idea present in a child's mind might have its own reason of being.

To come to practical issues, it is most important to insure that the child be instructed as to the best *modus operandi* in learning. Many of the fundamental rules of learning have been known and formulated since pre-Christian times. Few fifteen-year-olds have been made acquainted with them. If every student who has come to his teens understands *how* to learn and *how* to retain, he may be led to take interest and even pleasure in the formal act of learning. Where interest in content is lacking, the teacher need not despair. It is well known that interest is a powerful generator of effort ; the converse is also true—that honest, continued effort generates interest. Meumann wrote over a generation ago : " Memorization should not be a matter of accidental success as it has been in the

past; nor should it be given over to the blundering efforts and the unsystematic gropings of the child. It should not entail the waste of time and energy which necessarily results from a desultory and fortuitous procedure. The teacher must raise it to a higher plane; and this he can do by directing his pupils in their process of learning and by adapting their activity to conform with the results obtained from investigations of the conditions of economical learning."

In the education of dull pupils, the function of memory is very important. Memory is " the great simulator of intelligence." Accordingly, we must be prepared to find the unintelligent falling back on memory. Not everybody is capable of constructive thought, and only a small minority of people really like thinking. For many people, to remember things is easier than to understand them; for them, learning and remembering constitute their mental line of least resistance. The methodically arranged contents of a well-stocked memory can never supply the capacity to abstract and synthesize, but very often they will offer a fair substitute; on many occasions a trained memory under firm voluntary control and guided by a commonsense realization of values is nearly as efficient a mental weapon as intellect itself. It is doubtless because the unintelligent have to rely heavily on their memories that since early times a belief has existed that a good memory is a bad sign of intellect. Aristotle thought that those persons " who have good memories are apt to be slow of wit," and Cicero, without mincing his words, called memory " the treasure of the fool." Aristotle and Cicero are justified only in the sense that, because the " slow of wit " and the " fool " tend perforce to depend more on memory than do the intelligent, their memories become highly trained through use and habit, and eventually become so efficient that they help them almost as much as their moderate intellects.

No teacher needs to feel apologetic if he finds himself causing his students to master many facts, to learn many formulae, to memorize much poetry. They will be no load nor need their acquisition necessarily be attended by brain fag or boredom. " Lessons " must be " learned " as an indispensable step in the development of the latent capacities with which the soul is endowed at creation; memory work is a means to the greater end of intellectual growth. To take but one example: a child who has memorized a good poem or a piece of noble prose has thereby acquired a priceless possession. He can recall it to consciousness at will; he can dwell to his heart's content on the ideas it contains. Provided he has interest enough in it to recall it frequently, its beauty will dwell with him as long as he lives.

LUCY DUGGAN

A HALO ON THE NOVEL

BY M. BODKIN, S.J.

M. CLAUDE FARRÈRE, in giving the blessing of the French Academy to Miss Purcell's novel of St. Joan of Arc,[1] welcomes it so warmly because " Mary Purcell, an Irishwoman, is a Catholic. And I do not need to read ten pages of her book to realize that her belief is sincere." And " that," he thinks, " is why Miss Mary Purcell's has every chance of being a success after so many comprehensible failures, failures that could have been nothing but failures." Now it may well come as something of a shock to St. Joan's Irish admirers to realize that this novel, a speedy French translation of which is called for by the distinguished Academician, is in fact the first major tribute of Irish Letters to the Maid. Those who are familiar with her iconography will remember a picture of her in the romantic mood of the nineties, resting in the straw under the soft glow of a William Morris lamp and the protection of vague, angelic wings. The painter was Joyce, an Irishman. His vision of Joan is that of the " knights of fame," who

> quitted not their harness bright,
> Neither by day, nor yet by night;

and

> lay down to rest
> With corslet laced,
> Pillowed on buckler cold and hard.

An unfair suspicion of this picture of a young girl asleep in the straw, shadowed indeed by angel wings, but in all the inconvenience of plate mail, may have crossed the minds of those who were inclined to disbelieve in knights, of whom Scott wrote:

> They carved at the meal
> With gloves of steel,
> And they drank the red wine through the helmet barred.

Nevertheless, it might well have seemed a little odd that the romantic writers of Ireland have lagged so long behind the less distinguished painters in the choice of so tempting a subject.

For surely St. Joan's life offered a strong inducement to writers whose talents were so often already dedicated to the cause of patriotism and the liberation of their country from the English yoke. It is true that a Dublin Bishop, honoured with the office of preacher during the triduum of thanksgiving for the canonization of the Maid in her own city of Orleans, silenced

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[1] *The Halo on the Sword.* By Mary Purcell. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., pp. xx & 299. 12s. 6d. 1951.

The Mystery of the Charity of Joan of Arc. By Charles Péguy. Translated by Julian Green. London: Hollis and Carter. Pp. 216. 12s. 6d. net. 1950.

some French and English prelates who twitted him with coldness of devotion in that he had not arrived for its opening functions, by retorting briefly: "Ah, Excellencies, but then I, an Irishman, had no act of reparation to make." But whatever the cause, it must be owned that in our island interest in St. Joan has hitherto been disappointingly limited and inarticulate. Perhaps in this there has been a blessing in disguise. Thirty or even twenty years ago it would have been hard to depict her to the average Irishman or woman as anything but Patriotism Incarnate. In *The Halo on the Sword* she is, as she was in life, first of all Sanctity in Action.

But can one call a novel a life of a Saint? In former times, no doubt, the idea of a saint's life conveyed through the medium of fiction would have seemed frivolous, if not shocking. To-day, however, a good novel based on sound scholarship and conscientious principles may well be the most telling method of introducing the saint to a wide public—the public that reads almost exclusively fiction. And the sparks once flying, they may kindle a fire of love and imitation as bright and terrible as the saint's consuming pyre. Who shall guess how many have joined the great army of Joan's lovers, because a stray piece of paper, blown by some wind of Providence, folded itself round the leg of Mark Twain? He had never heard of her until he read upon it some commonplace words; but he went home to write his *Joan of Arc*, the imaginary chronicle of her page, d'Aulon. It is a seed-bed book, as many besides the author of this article have found, kindling enthusiasm in the young for the fresh young enthusiast, by the enthusiasm with which it was written. It is precisely because of this quality, praised so highly by M. Farrère, that we may fairly hope that Miss Purcell's book will fire youthful minds with a love of the Maid and a desire to know more of her.

The book in question will, indeed, give the reader much more of the Maid's history, and that much more accurately, than is usually the way of historical novels. This book is no *Song of Bernadette*, subtly falsifying and glamourizing the truth to give the novelist's blacks and whites a fuller tone. The authoress seems, in fact, to have hesitated about using the novel form at all. The reader may justly complain that he could easily buy the book as "straight" historical biography: it is as a biography, not fiction, that its publishers describe it. And this seems a blemish. It is strange to find a novel with a war-map for end-papers and a brief but fairly formidable list of acknowledgements and authorities. But this is a novel, not a history. The principles of an author of an historical novel may of course vary from Scott's or Shakespeare's methods, where the heroes and heroines are fiction and the incidents freely invented and altered, to such stories as some of Miss Bowen's, where only the selection of episode marks them off from full historical record. Miss Purcell's plan seems to have been to alter as little as possible, indeed next to nothing,

of any scene in St. Joan's life of which we have accurate knowledge. This leaves her free to imagine a possible, some would say a probable, meeting of St. Colette and St. Joan, and others between Joan's friends and relations. The novel form, however, necessitates her choosing only one version of some controverted incident, instead of giving all the relevant data. There are few enough such controversies in St. Joan's story, which is perhaps better documented than any other " life of Saint," owing to the preservation of her own detailed testimony about herself, given on oath to hostile witnesses. In addition to this testimony we have the process of rehabilitation, which was at least as full and as free as the pre-canonization inquiries into most saint's lives. This second " trial " was carried out, as we might say, just in the nick of time, while her mother, her confessors, her companions in arms, and her girl-friends were there to give detail to the inimitable dignity of her own picture. Nevertheless, there is at least one episode, the recantation on her first visit to the scaffold, for which the contradictory evidence is too strong to allow any lover of the saint to be satisfied with a single version of it. Besides such a self-imposed handicap of method, minor inaccuracies such as Miss Purcell's slips in making St. Joan mount a horse for the first time on her way to Chinon, or giving Giles de Rais the Marshal's baton before it had been conferred on him at the coronation at Rheims, or describing her banner incorrectly, do not really signify.

There is, however, another and much more serious aspect of the fictionalized life of Saint, of which it is at least necessary to be aware. With the ordinary historical personage in the novel the pitfalls of interpreting his mind and intentions are obvious enough ; with the saint they are far greater. St. Joan laboured with only partial success to describe to her eager judges what happened in her soul (and perhaps in her body), when her Voices visited her. No novelist can successfully expand that revelation. The dangers of giving her private thoughts, her prayers, her plans, her moods, where we have not her own words to support our surmising, are more obvious. Miss Purcell has gone forward gallantly and perhaps a little recklessly in this fashion ; but it is only fair to note that this novel has the unusual qualification of an *imprimatur*, securing, no doubt, that the author's imaginings are orthodox, whether historically warranted or not.

When all this has been said about the difficulties and limitations of the medium chosen, a reader may wonder why Miss Purcell chose it. It has many advantages, and not all are based on popular appeal. St. Joan has been almost as much written about as Napoleon or George Washington, and for much longer and by more distinguished authors. Only St. Agnes perhaps has interested so many great writers ; and in her Prudentius, Ambrose, Augustine, Aquinas and A'Kempis were united to eulogize an ideal rather than a real person. One may exclude books of which St. Joan was the

inspiration rather than the subject. Such a one is Charles Péguy's *Mystery of the Charity of Joan of Arc*, recently translated into English. Despite its author's excessively personal preoccupations with the world in which he lived—whether Hauviette, Jeannette or the imaginary Mme. Gervaise speaks, the voice and accents are those of Charles Péguy—it does tell us something about Joan. One may exclude the foreign tongues—even her own beloved French—and so rule out Aeneas Sylvius and Schiller, and not only Voltaire and Monstrelet, but François Jammes and Maurice Barrès, and there is still a vast literature in English about the Maid.

She was born in time for Shakespeare to speak of her in two voices, and to give her words with which to address her Dauphin that she herself might not have scorned to use. And if after that she remained long forgotten, she reappeared with the blunt Shavian question: "Be you Captain?" to be again the talk of London. Chroniclers she has had in noble prose, Andrew Lang scarcely daring to believe in a Popish Maid, Belloc using his finest rhetoric and even tempted to throw aside altogether the natural scepticism of a Gallic historian. And of course straightforward historians without number have written of her for a page of Europe's history must for ever be bright with her name. Then in our own times came her beatification and her canonization, and two wars in which a France, invaded and despoiled, turned with agony to the memory of one who had rescued her from no less humiliation and destruction. England, the ally of France on both occasions, and now at last conscious of the honours that the recognition of St. Joan's sanctity by the Papacy involved, was also widely affected. What will be the effect upon young folk, of the magnificent film made under Père Doncoeur's aegis? It is yet too early to do more than hope. True it was not the first of its kind: the writer came home all afire from a spotted jerky silent film which appeared in the Rotunda long before it became a cinema theatre, and indeed when there were no cinema theatres in Dublin. The field has indeed been sown and reaped many times. There were, however, three notable lacunae. There was no great poem in English on St. Joan. But poets are born, not made. There was no deep study of her holiness. Père Petit de Julleville's volume in *Les Saints* had indeed been translated, but the temptation to tell again the story of her external actions had been overpowering. Writers on mysticism had consistently and not altogether surprisingly fought shy of this mystic; and even Father Martindale in his recent study of feminine sanctity had given her but a line. The want is still felt. Lastly, if one omits the solitary effort of Mark Twain in pseudo-history, there was no considerable novel dealing with her. It was perhaps the temptation to be dramatic and poetic at once, to write a life of saint and a sound history, to lay on a frequented shrine a wreath of imagination and colour and poetry that would bring still more worshippers to find inspiration in the Maid that gave birth to Miss Purcell's novel.

It is only fair to say again that the last and most important of these hopes is almost sure to be accomplished. There is drama in it, if it is not Shaw in quality, and sound writing, if it is not Belloc, but perhaps too little poetry. The novel is a longish one ; and of course in the novel many pages of the chronicle have disappeared ; but it would be too much to say that in their place there is that atmospheric writing about St. Joan that would have lifted up the heart as her banner roused men, or given the eyes tears to shed like her pitiful sighs. It is not just that to even amateurs in medievalism it is strange to hear her squires call one another " Poulency " and " Metz," or address their Dauphin's governor as " Baudricourt " *tout court*, not that " desist, friend Bertram " sounds too reminiscent of Scott at his worst, and no medieval could have spoken of going " to young Charles at Chinon," even if he were not yet the Lord's anointed. Such verbal pitfalls might have been forgiven. One might also have forgiven the unhistorical emphasis on a mother whose conduct, as a fact, was enigmatic. She was an indefatigable pilgrim, but would not go to see her daughter at Rheims. She sent Joan an inscribed ring, but with it, despite the saint's pleadings, no reassuring message of love or forgiveness. Such a one cannot be a successful character in a novel. It is not that there is a great deal of millinery in the detail. After all St. Joan and the medievals liked millinery, and she wore the Sword of Fierbois with its five crosses discreetly enclosed in a gilt scabbard of crimson velvet semée with golden fleur de lis. No ; it is something that goes deeper. Surely Miss Purcell has deliberately eschewed the magic in her writing as ruthlessly as Joan did in life. She has been content to tell the story of perhaps the most marvellous events that ever befell a mortal maid in a style that has not even St. Joan's own lucid simplicity, but is just plain, honest, homespun prose. The book is in some ways perhaps all the better for that. One has certainly none of the uneasy qualms with which one followed the Jewish journalist, as he " wrote up " the other young girl from the French village.

And in the end, as Miss Purcell would surely agree, it is the function of such a novel, such a life of Saint, to be not wholly satisfying. There was one reader at least whom it sent back to a well-thumbed volume of the Medieval Text Society. It is perhaps a pity that Miss Purcell did not cite it among her authorities, for there, as perhaps nowhere else in English, in Miss Eileen Power's brief and admirable introduction, and still more in the documents of the great trial, the Maid herself appeals from the hard judgment of her judges to all that is noble in man. In these times of ours, those documents make very significant and terrible reading. Reason of state, ambition, intimidation, we are too well acquainted with them all to-day. Here are the nauseating ingredients of injustice ; lying propaganda and sanctimonious speeches that cover so thinly murderous intents. Here are the judges bought and the accusers

selected, flattered and threatened, at once obsequious and cruel. Here is the awful parody of divine justice played out in Rouen, as it was so often played out in Westminster, as it was played out so lately in Hungary and Jugo-Slavia, as it was once played out before the Sanhedrin. Here is the savage irony of the consulted bishop, who would as soon differ from Pierre Cauchon as "teach Minerva." Here is the chained girl and a great Earl struggling to reach her with his drawn dagger. Here, alas! alas! is her father in God with his exultant cry: "Be of good cheer! We have her! It is done!" Here too is Joan's answer to all questioners, her utter loyalty to her King, her courage, her truthfulness, even her wit, the final appeal to the Pope, the pitiful lapse, and the heartbreaking lovely humility of her repentance. No, it cannot be put in words other than her own, this tremendous conflict between all the tortuous black intrigue of the mighty forces of evil and the Child of God, whom He exalted to confound the great ones of earth. In the Mass of St. Joan it is summed up in a few phrases: *Laudate Dominum Deum nostrum, qui non deseruit sperantes in Se, et in me ancilla sua implevit misericordiam suam quam promisit domui Israel.*

On the anniversary of his wedding our Irish patriot, William O Brien, once sent to his French wife a single daisy, the solitary flower which he found in his cobbled prison-yard. With something of that daisy's innocence and beauty does the figure of the Maid shine out in the dark records. It is no disparagement of a useful book to say these records are worth a thousand novels or a hundred plays. They are worth more even than a great poem: they give us Saint Joan herself.

M. Bodkin

THE NATURE AND MEANING OF LANGUAGE[1]

BY LUDWIG BIELER, PH.D.

I

SOME twenty years ago Karl Bühler, writing on the crisis of modern psychology, suggested that the various modern schools, so far from excluding one another, represented just so many aspects of the same reality, and he could think of no subject more suitable for testing his thesis than the problem of language. Bühler reduced the bewildering variety of psychological schools to three fundamental trends: the first represented by the developments of introspective psychology, including psycho-analysis; the second most conspicuous in behaviorism; the third, typically German, aiming under various names (*Strukturpsychologie, geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie*, etc.) at a 'structural', that is, phenomenological understanding of the 'objective mind' as conceived by Dilthey. Language, Bühler points out, is normally a manifestation of some individual, directed to some other individual or individuals, referring to some objective reality. The subjective (individualistic), collective (behaviouristic), and objective (phenomenological) approach to the study of language are all one-sided and call for integration.

The crisis which Bühler has analysed is common to all Geisteswissenschaften.[2] At present it has become acute in the 'Geisteswissenschaft' *par excellence*—the science of language.

During the later nineteenth century, linguists were pre-occupied with the formulation of phonetic laws, their application to etymology and the establishment of 'genealogical' relations between the several members of great language groups, especially the Indo-European. If general questions concerning the nature of language were asked at all, they were formulated and answered in terms of psychology. These linguistic studies were for a long time almost exclusively German. Great as is our debt to these scholars of the nineteenth century, the fundamental limitations of their terms of reference have become obvious.

It was a French Swiss scholar, Ferdinand de Saussure, who turned resolutely from linguistic history to the living language. Language as actually spoken presents itself under two aspects—*parole* ('speech'), i.e. language in the act of speaking, and *langue*, i.e. the system implied in the former. According to de Saussure, language is primarily a social

[1] This essay has been suggested by the appearance of a new German linguistic periodical: *Lexis. Studien zur Sprachphilosophie, Sprachgeschichte und Begriffsforschung.* Unter Mitwirkung von Walter Bröcker, Franz Dornseiff, Ernst Lewy und anderen in- und ausländischen Gelehrten herausgegeben von Johannes Lohmann. (Lahr i. B.: Moritz Schauenburg). Vol. I, 1948; II/1, 1949.

[2] I have traced it in a field as remote and specialized as the methodology of textual criticism: *The Grammarian's Craft*, in *Folia* II (1947) 94–105; III (1948) 23–32, 47–58.

phenomenon and must be studied against its social background. The history of a language explains little, if anything, in the language of to-day. On the contrary, only a study of contemporary language will enable us to understand the forces that have shaped language in the past. De Saussure's thesis was more than a change of aspect or method; he inaugurated general, as distinct from comparative linguistics. A universal science of language had indeed been visualized in the early days of German *Sprachwissenschaft* by Wilhelm von Humboldt; but this vision was obscured by the intellectual trends of the mid-century, and by the great number of detailed problems that seemed to demand solution before broader issues could be discussed. With de Saussure, general linguistics made good their claim to recognition.

A third impetus came from ethnology. Graebner's *Kulturkreislehre*, the doctrine that every culture radiates from a centre, called attention to the significance of the geographical distribution of civilizations and languages.[1] At the same time there developed the study of language structure, of linguistic types. A fundamental relation between linguistic geography and linguistic typology was established by Ernst Lewy.[2] His analysis of a number of languages spoken in modern Europe—strictly empirical or, if you like, phenomenological—results in a grouping based on structure, not on 'genealogical' affiliations. Each of these groups can be located in a definite area. Structural relationship may be the result of an earlier 'substratum' (as in the case of Basque and Spanish, or Irish and English); of mutual penetration and assimilation (Russian and Latvian on the one hand, the Finno-Ugrian languages on the other); or, as Professor Lewy emphasizes, of some fundamental change in the speakers' minds (for example, a tendency towards abstraction in the 'western' area as a whole). Studies of this kind will lead to a history of language very different from that which tried to reconstruct a primitive *Ursprache* from its descendants.

The three 'linguistics,' as here outlined, are clearly related to the three 'psychologies' of Karl Bühler, and the solution of the 'crisis' is the same here as there. In fact, linguists of all schools begin to feel the need of a synthesis.

Leaving aside the Do's and Don't's of our school grammars, the linguist has at his command three main forms of presentation: descriptive, historical, and comparative. At first it might appear that these are correlated to 'behaviouristic', 'historical', and 'structural' linguistics. In reality, however, matters are not quite so simple.

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[1] See P. W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (1926); A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (1939); and some comments on this by M. Tierney, *Studies*, 36 (1947) 151–62.

[2] *Der Bau der europäischen Sprachen*, in *Proc. K.I.A. Sc.* 2 (1942), cf. the review by G. Murphy in *Studies*, 32 (1943) 293 f.; *On the distribution of the languages in the old Eurasian region*, in *Philological Society*, (1944) 5–13; *Die Lehre von den Sprachtypen*, in *Studium Generale*, 4 (1951) 415–22.

All linguistic studies must certainly begin with as detailed and accurate a description as possible of the languages concerned. But, to describe a language—what does it mean? Is it enough to register unconnected details? Such a description would be of little use. All our grammars try to bring their material into some sort of system. The question is only: what system will, *hic et nunc*, be most appropriate? For a long time Latin grammar was looked upon as *the* grammar, and was almost universally applied. Thus the organic system of the language in question (Humboldt's *innere Sprachform*) was obscured by a system that was arbitrarily superimposed from outside. The temptation was all the greater as most European languages are not only of a similar structure as Latin but have also come, at one time or another, under its direct influence. But this dominance of Latin grammar was misleading. Is, for example, the Germanic preterite really identical with any of the Latin historic tenses? We are only now beginning to see different linguistic patterns as they really are. Even such an elementary fact as the radical difference of the Greek and Latin tense systems has not yet become firmly established in our school teaching!

Yet surely, in a perfect linguistic description, details must be shown in their functioning, that is, as parts of an organic system. Neither can descriptive grammar dispense completely with linguistic history. Even a purely descriptive study of modern English semantics is bound to bring out the historical stratification of the English vocabulary. In particular, ' functional disorders ' such as fluctuations of usage (*to dare*, for example, with or without ' *to* ') in all spoken languages remind the student of the fact that language is never static. The ' fault ' of to-day may be the rule of to-morrow. The social relevance of this phenomenon has been stressed (in fact, overstressed) by Leonard Bloomfield.[1] Changes in ' standard language ' are certainly due in large part to changes of social order; not necessarily to social revolution. An educated person nowadays might, for example, speak slightly ' below standard ' for fear of appearing highbrow.

The vicissitudes of ' historical ' and ' comparative ' grammar have been rather entangled. In themselves, the two are quite distinct. One can write the history of a language without comparing it with others, and one can compare languages without regard to their history. However, in linguistic science as it developed during the past one hundred and fifty years, the two went mostly hand in hand. This was natural enough as long as the interest of scholars concentrated on the Indo-European languages. With the increased study among European scholars of other language-groups the comparative method began to free itself of this alliance. Outside Indo-European, the ' genealogical ' relations between languages and language groups are not always clear. Unmistakeable, however, are the linguistic types which they represent. Indo-European

[1] *Introduction to the Study of Language* (New York, 1933).

is stem-inflecting, Semitic root-inflecting, Uralo-Altaic subordinating, Indo-Chinese word-isolating.[1] One should never forget that speaking of languages in terms of genealogy is using a metaphor, which is easily taken too literally, or carried too far. It is, at best, a mode of presentation. Indo-European (which we cannot reconstruct) may be the 'mother' of Sanskrit, Greek, Italic, etc., as Latin is the 'mother' of the various Romance languages. But the sub-divisions even of Indo-European are just so many groups, with particular agreements between each two of them (Greek-Italic, Italic-Celtic, Celtic-Germanic, etc.).

If structure is the touchstone for the diagnosis of languages, why not compare any two languages at any stage of their history? Why not, for example, compare modern English with ancient Hebrew or classical Chinese? Such comparisons are by no means as far-fetched as might at first appear.[2]

Above all, the study of linguistic structure is the best approach to the phenomenon of language as such. In the words of Ernst Lewy,[3] if language is the whole of our mental systems turned into sound, the structure of language must reveal the structure of the human mind. We cannot think outside of some language, and the way we think is largely determined by the language in which our thinking is done.

Personally, I believe that every language pre-disposes its speakers to a certain approach towards reality, and that every human person is, if I may say so, predestined for a certain type of language—even though the latter may be superseded by the different language of a person's environment. Learning languages widens our experience because every new language opens to us a different approach towards reality. On the other hand, real bilingualism (if it exists at all) would be a barrier to a person's full self-realization as a human being. Need I say that this is a vital problem here in Ireland? Whether it can be solved by compulsory Irish is another question. The very existence of this problem bears out the truth that race is a thing of the spirit.[4]

The relation of language to truth has occupied the minds of philosophers from Plato to Heidegger. If language is more than a conventional system of signs (as might at first appear); if, to reconcile Plato's dilemma, language exists not only 'by convention' (*thesei*) but also 'by nature' (*physei*),[5] then it must have a message of its own and not only by reference to something which it 'expresses' or 'denotes'. Being a specifically human 'energy', language does not reveal reality as such, but reality as interpreted by the human mind ('*Weltauslegung*').[6] Thus the variety of

[1] E. Lewy, *Philological Society* (1944), 5 ff.
[2] E. Sapir, *Language* (1921), 127–56.
[3] *Lexis* I. 178.
[4] On the etymology: race—*ratio*, see E. Lewy, in *Studium Generale*, 4 (1951), 422.
[5] All language is spontaneous creation and, at the same time, determined by social behaviour.
[6] Lohmann, *Lexis* I. 152.

linguistic patterns corresponds to the variety of our mental systems. There is a truth in language more profound and essential than the speaker can realize, a truth that more often than not gives him away.[1] Thus language can teach us more about Man than literature—except, perhaps, the very greatest literature, in which language ' is ' what it ' says '. The infinite variety of mental systems unfolded in the languages of the world, so far from supporting the doctrine of relativism,[2] makes us wonder at the richness of the human mind in spite of its essential unity. There are as many ways to truth as there are to God.

For an understanding of language, as language, it is not necessary to compare languages at all. The structural analysis of even a single language can open our eyes to the basic facts. Comparison only broadens our vision, sharpens our sense of distinction, enables us to see more clearly what is individual in a language and what is common. The all-important thing, however, is to see every linguistic fact within a given system in relation to every other linguistic fact. It is no longer permissible, for example, to treat phonetics, morphology, semantics, syntax, and stylistics as so many independent parts of grammar. They are all too closely linked up with each other to be studied in isolation. The initial mutations of Irish, for example, rooted as they are in the concept of the Irish word, belong equally to phonetics, morphology and syntax. In late Latin, the weakening of terminations, case syncretism (with a corresponding extension of prepositional expressions) and the fixation of word order on the one hand, and such semantic changes as the levelling of the special meanings of certain particles and pronouns, or the weakening of the verbal notion in participle on the other, are mutually dependent factors of a system in transition ; a system that is shifting from a ' synthetic ' to an ' analytic ' type of language.

The traditional division of grammar certainly includes a system that is real ; but one cannot study any single part of grammar without fixing one's eye constantly on the whole. In this light, modern grammatical studies have been gradually renewed—in spirit if not in form. Among these new trends ' phonology ', as inaugurated by the late Duke Trubetzkoy and his friends, is perhaps most widely known. In ' phonology ' the speech-sounds are studied not in themselves, but as elements of the phonetic

[1] This has been fully realized for the first time by Theodor Haecker and Karl Kraus ; there is an inkling of it now and then in Chesterton.

[2] Relativism is certainly implicit in Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*. For Cassirer language, myth, art, positive law are so many ' *symbolische Formen* ', systems of *Weltbewältigung*, i.e. of subjecting reality to some pre-existing principle of the human mind. Or rather any such principle determines a particular organization of reality, and only as organized in this or that particular form can reality become a human experience. This is essentially Kantianism in a new disguise. I cannot help feeling, however, that Heidegger's philosophy of language, once it has been divested of its hieratic verbiage, comes to much the same. What else can be the meaning of such a dictum as *Sprache ist lichtend-verbergende Ankunft des Seins selbst* ? (*Uber den Humanismus*, p. 16). Even W. Bröcker's more cautious formula is to the same effect : (*die Sprache*) *erzeugt Seiendes als Erscheinendes* (' language creates being as a phenomenon ' : *Lexis* I. 43).

pattern of a language or language-group. So in the whole field of linguistic studies every detail must be examined as to its relevance within the system or systems of which it forms part.

II

I have thought it necessary to analyse at some length the present trends of linguistic study in order to show the need of a new linguistic periodical, and to introduce the one about which I am going to write. *Lexis* was born of the deeply felt desire for a re-orientation of German linguistic science after the greatest spiritual catastrophe in the nation's history. Unlike *Lingua*, a review of general linguistics that began to appear about the same time in Holland, *Lexis* aims at more than the promotion of linguistic research or the co-ordination of the several branches of linguistics and related sciences. The editors of *Lexis* hope to restore German linguistic studies to that fulness of life, that power of synthesis and integration that was claimed for the science of language by Wilhelm von Humboldt more than a hundred years ago, but was lost during the nineteenth century. The title *Lexis* is itself a programme—for the Greek *lexis* means ' word ' as well as ' speech ' and ' style '. Languages will be studied not so much as witnesses to the national and racial differentiation of mankind, but rather as ' representatives of the one human language, for the possession of which Man is essentially defined as *zoon logon echon*'.[1] The title-page is framed by four *Urworte*: the opening words of the Fourth Gospel, the Delphic *Know Thyself*, the Vedic axiom of the identity of Atma and Brahma, and a Chinese aphorism that is rendered on the opposite page as *Nomen nominabile non est aeternum nomen, ratio rationabilis non est aeterna ratio.*

The contents of the two volumes so far issued are not quite so forbidding as their facade would suggest. *Lexis* is open to scholars of all schools, and for the discussion of any subject from phonetics to literature *qua* art of language.

Karl Büchner points out that Horace, contrary to the spirit of the Roman language as manifested so impressively in Virgil, avoids the elative as alien to his belief in the Greek ideal of *metron* (I. 194-214). The same scholar finds that the characteristic attitude of the Greek New Comedy wanted a Roman for its formulation—Terence with his *humanum*, for which the Greek had no parallel (II. 67–97).

Ernst Lewy guides us on much-ignored by-ways of linguistic research to unexpected vistas. His discussion of some German-English translation

[1] Such words read doubly significant after the spiritual chaos of the Hitler régime. Thucydides already remarked that in times of revolution words change their meaning (III. 82, 4). Karl Kraus said of the Third Reich : *Das Wort entschlief, als jene Welt erwachte.* Will the *Volk der Dichter und Denker* find its way back to the *logos* ? A tantalizing question for us all !

problems (*understatement, wishful thinking, Zivilkurage,* or the very opposite ideas expressed by the two similar words *self-conscious* and *selbstbewusst*) brings to light deep-rooted differences in ' mental structure ' as well as in historical conditions : no wonder that the two nations, in spite of their ' cognate ' languages, find it so difficult to come to an understanding (I. 20–23). Quite revolutionary is his *Etymologie und Sprachbegriff* (I. 174–84). How are we to explain the fact that in geographically neighbouring languages ' similar sound-groups tend to denote the same concepts ' (Ir. *sí*—Engl. *she,* Ir. *ród*—Engl. *road,* Old Norse *hann*—Finn. *hän* as pronoun of the third person) ? Or that there occur peculiar semasiological equations (Ir. *acht* and Engl. *but,* both adversative as well as restrictive)—equations that cannot be explained by either borrowing or ' genealogy ' ?[1] In the author's opinion, every language, whether individual or national, is mixed of different ' mental systems ', each with an ascendency of its own. An extreme case is the phonetic and semantic identity of Mordwin *put-oms* and English *to put.* The two languages, as far as we know, had neither a common descent nor historical contact ; we have to acknowledge an ' elementary relation of two phonetic gestures ', and of their conceptual equivalents in the human mind. Is language, after all, ' by nature ' (*physei*)? Yes, Professor Lewy seems to say, if *physis* includes Mind.

Even topical questions have not been shunned. Franz Dornseiff's *Die Leistung* indicts the mad activism of the Third Reich by a critical examination of one of its pet-words (I. 16–19), and Johannes Lohmann vigorously tackles the crucial problem of a German spelling reform with the scholarly methods of the phonologist (I. 264–79). Lohmann's postulate that our spelling should have distinct signs not for each ' sound ' but for each ' phoneme ' is, in my opinion, the first plausible argument in this controversy. The brief specimen of reformed German spelling (a résumé of a posthumous communication by the late Duke N. S. Trubetzkoy, I. 301 f) certainly reads less strange and much easier than Dewey's system of Simplified Spelling

Other contributions are more outspokenly philosophical—discussions and interpretations of Anaximander and Parmenides, articles on enthusiasm and *logos* in Plato, on Plato's theory of numbers in relation to his idea of the One Good, on the sophism of Kung-Sun-Lung that ' a white horse is not a horse ' and the (conceptually) different solution of the same problem (substance—accidence) in the metaphysics of Aristotle (by J. Lohmann, II. 3–11).

By far the largest space, however, is given to studies in the theory of language, most of them by either Johannes Lohmann or Walter Bröcker. It is these articles that have prompted my general reflections in Part I. These scholars interpret language in the terminology of Martin Heidegger ; the second volume of *Lexis* has even been dedicated to him on the occasion

[1] See also his discussion of *Bedeutungsverwandtschaft* in *Lexis* I, 194–8.

of his sixtieth birthday and is adorned with his portrait. How far the reader can follow this interpretation depends, of course, on his attitude to existentialism; this granted, their theories are full of interest. It is to be hoped that in later volumes (may there be many!) other schools of thought will also have their say. Professor Lohmann himself has made a beginning by the introduction of the scholastic term *suppositio* for the specifically Indo-European *Sprachform* of Heidegger's *ontologische Differenz*.

In the most general terms, here are some questions which we, I think, must ask: What does the phenomenon of language tell us about Man? What does the collective evidence of human languages tell us about mankind? What does a national language tell us about the people whose language it is? What does an individual or group-language tell us about the person or persons by whom it is spoken? Different philosophies will have different answers; as long, however, as these are given in a truly philosophical spirit they will tend in the same direction. When pursued to its logical conclusion, philology ends up as anthropology, anthropology as theology. This is the way that the editors of *Lexis* have taken. We are waiting for its fulfilment.

Ludwig Bieler

EVER MAC MAHON

SOLDIER BISHOP OF THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

BY SEAMUS P. MOORE, M.A.

PART II

Any good effects that might have accrued from the victory of Benburb were set at naught by the dissensions that followed the Ormond Peace. It is easy to understand why this peace was absolutely unacceptable to the Northern Irish. It held out no hope at all of restoration of confiscated lands. The measure of toleration which it gave to the Catholics made it also impossible for the Nuncio to accept it. From this time on, we find him relying more and more on the support of the Ulster party which he had at first distrusted. Ever Mac Mahon was at the Synod which assembled in Waterford to reject the Peace, and we find him a member of the new Supreme Council set up by the Nuncio.[1]

Preston had agreed to serve under the new Council, and it was decided that the armies of O'Neill and Preston should lay siege to Dublin, then held by Ormond and the Royalists. The two armies moved northwards. It was winter, a wet and cold winter, and the soldiers suffered greatly. These trials were borne patiently enough in the hope that soon the city would be in their hands. However the vacillation of Preston, his unhappiness in being opposed to the majority of his Leinster compeers, and his deep-seated jealousy of Owen Roe destroyed all hope of reducing the city. Preston pretended to suspect O'Neill of having designs upon him. To promote unity the Nuncio, accompanied by the Bishop of Clogher and the Bishop of Ferns, visited Preston in his camp and tried to convince him of O'Neill's sincerity and good faith. It was of no avail. Preston was obdurate in his opposition to O'Neill. The Nuncio, bitterly disappointed, made public a conspiracy about which he had heard and to which Preston was alleged to have been a party. The object of the conspiracy was to have the Nuncio and the Bishop of Clogher seized and handed over to Ormond.[2]

When Owen Roe was at Athy on his way to the siege of Dublin, Ormond contrived a plot to have him seized and brought to Dublin, there to be held up to ridicule and put to death. One of his two agents was Owen Roe's nephew, Daniel O'Neill, around whose person some historians, notably J. F. Taylor, have sought to throw a halo of glamour and romance. If they should not succeed in entrapping Owen, then they were instructed to capture or, if necessary kill the Bishop of Clogher. The plot miscarried, and Daniel O'Neill's life was saved by the charitable intervention of his uncle.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 391.

[2] Meehan : *The Confederation of Kilkenny* (1882), p. 200, is very severe on Preston's conduct ; but I cannot trace his source. The narrative in *Comm.* II, p. 428, is less severe.

[3] *Comm.* II, p. 473–4.

By the summer of 1647 the Anglo-Irish element was again in control of the Supreme Council. In December, the Council decided to recommend to the Assembly that ambassadors should be sent to certain European powers. Those recommended to be sent to France were Viscount Muskerry, the Bishop of Clogher and Geoffrey Brown. Mac Mahon was proposed, not indeed with the object of conferring any honour upon him, but because the majority on the Council desired to be rid of the spokesman of the Old Irish who was also a friend of the Nuncio. Ever refused to accept the appointment, excusing himself in a long speech in which he pointed out that he would be a most unsuitable person for the position because he spoke neither French nor English. He also said that the English Queen, then in Paris, hated him as she believed that he had been the chief instigator of the Rising in Ireland ; and that she was furthermore convinced that the rejection of the Ormond Peace had been his doing. Lastly, he declared that his life would be in danger in Paris, as some of the Queen's supporters had uttered threats against him. The Council refused to accept these excuses, and when the Bishop persisted in his attitude an attempt was made to have him thrown into prison on a charge of insubordination. The official account of the affair, as recorded in the Nuncio's papers, says :—" Custom and decrees of the King who was represented by the Assembly would countenance, they said, the incarceration of a Bishop. But the other ecclesiastics protesting against the legality of this, they issued a precept to prevent him leaving the city. This being also objected to by the Bishops, and in fear lest the Bishop of Clogher would call in O'Neill to his assistance, the Council contented themselves with cancelling the decree, and signifying to him through the Speaker on the part of the Committee that he was not to quit the city. Many attempts were made to effect a reconciliation since it was evident that the affair would be productive of the worst results, men of judgment perceiving that the Assembly had never thought of the consequences of offending O'Neill's best friend at the moment when they were entreating the General to take up his quarters in the city the better to unite the people. On the other hand the Nuncio, not understanding by what authority the verbal command had been laid on the Bishop, insisted on due recognition of ecclesiastical immunity. The agent of the most Christian King, fearing that his negotiations would be delayed by the disturbances resolved to go in person to O'Neill, not only to conduct him to the city but to pacify him with respect to the Bishop. His journey was however fruitless, as O'Neill refused to set foot in the city or even to approach it until he saw that the Bishop of Clogher was completely and courteously freed from the charge of contumacy."[1]

In April 1648 the Nuncio and Mac Mahon bitterly opposed the truce with Inchiquin. Fearing for their safety they decided to escape

[1] *Comm.* II, pp. 794–6 ; *Embassy*, pp. 339–42.

from Kilkenny. They came by way of a garden attached to their house as far as the city walls, making their way secretly in the early morning through an unfrequented gate, and sought refuge in Owen Roe's camp at Maryborough.[1] O'Neill now broke with the ruling party in the Confederation. In September he was declared an outlaw by the Supreme Council, and a pardon was granted to all of the Old Irish who would lay down arms; "always excepting Colonel Owen Mac Art O'Neill, the said Ever Lord Bishop of Clogher and other incorrigible offenders.[2]" In an earlier declaration against O'Neill (13 September, 1648) the Council had said :—" So many are the practices and so subtle the means by which Owen O'Neall, Ever Bishop of Clogher and those privy to their plots do endeavour to advance their wicked designs of enslaving the nation and introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government" that but for Providence "many of easy belief who dwell upon the patronage the Lord Nuncio affords their actions might be made the zealous instruments to promote their mischievous ends."[3]

In the complicated welter of events and parties that is a feature of the history of the Confederate days in Ireland we can trace the reasons for Mac Mahon's actions as virtual leader of the Ulster Old Irish by reference to the two aims to which we have already alluded. There can have been little real loyalty to King Charles in the hearts of the Ulster Irish despite their sometimes rather too loud protests to the contrary. It was against him they had risen in 1641. It was his father who had sanctioned the Plantation of Ulster. The 1641 Rising was an attempt to overthrow the settlement of 1607. But it had a religious aspect as well. The Catholics had suffered comparatively little religious persecution in Ulster down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the other provinces the Catholics had enjoyed an uneasy toleration broken by periods of severe persecution. The latter therefore would be grateful for small favours which the Northern clergy and their political leaders would not be prepared to accept, many of whom had seen the Church functioning in all its splendour of ritual on the Continent, and some of whom could remember the days when the same Church enjoyed a similar freedom and prestige in Ulster. It is thus no wonder that the Nuncio found himself obliged to side more and more openly with the Ulster Irish and that the Old Irish leaders in Ulster and elsewhere were determined to use his influence in an attempt to achieve their political aims as well.

By the Spring of 1649 the Confederation was dissolved, the Nuncio had left Ireland, the Cromwellians were victorious, the King was dead

[1] *Comm.* III, pp. 147–9. This contemporary narrative is less dramatic than Father Meehan's version, in which he makes the Nuncio and the Bishop of Clogher actually scale the city's wall : *Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 253.

[2] *Hist.* I, Part 2, p. 749–50.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 745–6.

and his son recognized by the Royalists as Charles II. Owen Roe's army was comparatively small, and he sorely lacked ammunition and money. Without assistance he could not hope to hold out indefinitely against his many enemies. The distrust of the Old Irish in Ormond and his Anglo-Irish supporters is amply demonstrated by the fact that Owen tried to make a peace with the Parliamentarians in 1649, and sent secret agents with terms to London. It is significant that these terms included an indemnity for all past actions, enjoyment of religious freedom and the restoration of confiscated lands.[1] Ormond had never been willing to consider the last of these terms at all. Parliament however refused to treat with Owen, and this attempt at treaty-making fell through. In all O'Neill's correspondence written at this time we find him complaining of his lack of money and ammunition. It was to obtain supplies that he consented to march from Clones to Derry, to relieve Coote who was being besieged there by the Scottish forces under Montgomery.[2] Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had married Preston's daughter, was now active on the side of Ormond ; and on 2 March, 1649 he wrote to the latter telling him that his regiment on its march through County Monaghan had come upon Ever Mac Mahon at Castleblayney. They took him prisoner and brought him to Sir Phelim's headquarters at Charlemont where he was kept in captivity.[3] In a letter written a long time afterwards to Rinuccini, Ever described his capture and subsequent escape. At the end of April, by the help of certain friendly soldiers, he got out by way of the castle windows under cover of the night.[4] In letters written to Massari and Rinuccini in May, Owen Roe referred joyfully to the Bishop's excape from captivity.[5]

As early as the Spring of 1649 Ormond had been making tentative efforts to make an alliance with Owen Roe. It was evident that the Parliamentarians had nothing but hostility for all who had ever opposed them. By August Cromwell himself was in Ireland, breathing vengeance against Old Irish, Anglo-Irish, Royalists and Scots alike. Owen was badly in need of arms and money. Cromwell's attitude and this lack of supplies compelled him to seek an alliance with Ormond. That necessity compelled him to act against the dictates of his personal feelings we know well. He sent two representatives to discuss the terms of the alliance with Ormond's envoys. They were Ever Mac Mahon and Turlough O' Boyle. All things considered, the two envoys did their work well. Free exercise of the Catholic religion was conceded, and the recovery of confiscated Church livings. The restoration of the bulk

[1] *Hist.* II, Part 1, p. 217 ; and Ludlow's *Memoirs* (ed. 1894) I, p. 228.
[2] *Hist.* II, Part 2, p. 446–7.
[3] *Hist.* I, Part 2, p. 777–8.
[4] *Spic. Ossor.* I, p. 335.
[5] *Spic. Ossor.* II, pp. 35–6.

of the confiscated lands of Ulster was promised.[1] If the new alliance were successful in stopping the Cromwellian advance, the aims of 1641 would be achieved. Had these terms been granted in 1646 how different might the course of history have been!

II

On 6 November, 1649, Owen Roe O'Neill died. The Ulster army dispersed, and a winter of despair settled down over Ireland. Practically all Leinster and most of Munster were in Cromwellian hands. In Ulster Coote and Venables controlled most of the province. Only in the united action of all the anti-Cromwellian forces could there be any hope of saving the nation from unparalleled disaster. Thus Mac Mahon was determined to uphold the treaty concluded between the Old Irish and Ormond. If by some lucky chance such a union should bring about victory or even a compromise peace, neither the claims of the Ulstermen nor of the Church could be ignored. It is unfair to say that he succumbed to Ormond's influence. Each man was using the other to further his own ends. The Ulster army, however, had neither sufficient cannon nor ammunition nor cavalry for a new campaign. Ormond promised to provide these. There was now no other source from which they could be obtained. At the Assembly of Irish Bishops held at Clonmacnoise on 4 December, 1649, Bishop Mac Mahon persuaded the prelates of both parties that unity in the face of the common foe was the only policy that could save the country from the Cromwellian menace. Many wondered that the man who had been Ormond's opponent for so many years should now be the chief promoter of an alliance with him. Such a *volte-face* naturally gave rise to some adverse comment.[2] Mac Mahon, however, acted in good faith, even if events did not take the course he had planned. Ormond's position was also weaker, both militarily and politically, and his resolution much less steadfast than the Bishop of Clogher had imagined.

The winter of 1649–50 saw the army of Owen Roe scattered and dispersed. Daniel O'Neill, writing to Ormond from Ballinacargy Castle, seat of Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly, on 9 January, 1650, said: " nor can I in any measure content a number of senseless, factious gentry, and much less endure the insolence, dissoluteness and disorder of the soldiers, which truly are such that none that has any sense of his honour and knows them will certainly, if he can choose, venture to command them especially into an enemy's country." In the same letter he thinks that Hugh Dubh O'Neill should be elected to the command of the Ulster forces. Again in another letter to Ormond he said of the Ulstermen :—" There are such animosities of counties and of families against one another that

[1] *Comm.* IV, pp. 318–40.
[2] *Hist.* II, Part 2, pp. 300–4.

nothing will be determined at any of their meetings unless the Bishop (*i.e.* of Clogher) be there to moderate their follies."[1]

A meeting of the Ulster leaders was at last held at the house of Bishop Sweeney of Kilmore in Belturbet to elect a successor to Owen Roe on 8 March, 1650. It was a meeting that calls for the skill of a dramatist to portray the personal rivalries, age-old feuds and thwarted ambitions that rose to the surface in the course of the debate.[2] There were some seven or eight candidates for the position. With the exception of Hugh Dubh O'Neill, who was down in Munster holding Clonmel, none of those whose names were mooted would prove an acceptable leader. Lt.-General O'Farrell had no chance of being elected as he was an outsider and lacked the family influence that the other candidates could bring to bear on the course of the election. Sir Phelim O'Neill had a large following in the province ; but he was a follower of Ormond and his record marked him as one to whom it would be unwise to trust the army ; nor would the officers who had served Owen Roe accept him gladly. The Marquis of Antrim was a personal enemy of Ormond, and was thus equally ineligible. There were two factions of the O'Neills, each anxious to secure the command for their own nominee. Daniel O'Neill's name is said to have been mentioned. Several accounts say that Bishop Mac Mahon, before being chosen, had promised to hand over his command to Daniel; but that he later made Daniel's acceptance of the Catholic Faith a condition. If this actually happened, it is again easy to see Mac Mahon's reason for acting thus. Daniel O'Neill was a Protestant, a creature of Ormond, and interested only in getting back his own ancestral domains. The command may indeed have been offered to him, with the view of pleasing Ormond on whom they must depend for reinforcements of cavalry and ammunition ; it was equally necessary, however, to ensure that Daniel would not get the command. Humphrey Galbraith, a minister, was at the meeting as an envoy from George Monroe, who with his Scots held Enniskillen. He promised the support of the Scots if they should elect Lord Antrim as their commander. In a letter to Ormond he said that the election of the Bishop was due to the fact that the clergy wished to throw off all allegiance to the Crown. Peter Walsh says that it was their intention to have Mac Mahon ultimately put in charge of all the Anti-Cromwellian forces in Ireland. Mac Mahon himself in a letter to Ormond written on 20th April refers to Humphrey Galbraith, and says he had looked for tithes at Belturbet which were not due to him, and that his claim was refused. Did this turn Galbraith against Mac Mahon and

[1] These two letters are in *Hist.* II, Part 2, pp. 345, 354.

[2] It is difficult to collate the several conflicting accounts of this meeting that have come down to us. The version given above is based on the *Aphorismical Discovery* (in *Hist.* II, Part 1, p. 70) ; the ' Relation ' of Henry Mac Tuoll O'Neill (above, note 39) ; Carte's *Life of Ormond* II, pp. 112–3 ; *The History of the Warr in Ireland*, pp. 113–6 ; and a statement by Peter Walsh in his *Irish Remonstrance*, p. 583.

induce him to persuade Monroe to hand over Enniskillen to the Parliamentarians? The account in the *Aphorismical Discovery* says that the Bishop was elected "to cut off all motives of jealousy and emulation."[1] In a letter which he wrote to Rinuccini, and which we may regard as his *apologia*, Bishop Mac Mahon said that he had accepted the command against his will. He then goes on to say that he accepted the post lest he should have been obliged to suffer great division in the ranks of the army, and endure the command of one less well affected towards the common cause and its defenders.[2] I think we must agree with that statement. Had Mac Mahon not accepted the command, there would probably have been no Ulster army left for anyone to lead. The Bishop also expresses anxiety as to whether the Holy See would approve of his action, and asks for certain dispensations.

I do not intend to go into the details of the Ulster campaign which culminated in the defeat at Scariffhollis on 21st June, 1650. To do so would require a separate article. Ever Mac Mahon's strategy was sound enough. His tactical sense may not have been as sound, but after all he was not a trained soldier. Scariffhollis was lost principally, it would seem, on account of the enemy's preponderating advantage in cavalry.[3] But it is very doubtful if a victory at Scariffhollis would have saved Ireland. The cause of Catholic Ireland was lost in the Council Chamber of Kilkenny three or four years before that.

Mac Mahon, O'Farrell, and some of the cavalry succeeded in escaping from the stricken field and rode away in the direction of Fermanagh. They were met by a Parliamentarian squadron under Major King at Glendorrochy, their presence having been betrayed to him by a gentleman of the district named Maguire. The *Aphorismical Discovery* comments on this with the words, "O inhumaine treacherie!"[4] In the conflict which followed the Bishop fought bravely; but his leg was broken in the struggle and he was taken a prisoner to Enniskillen Castle. He was kept in confinement there for almost three months. On 17th September, by direct order of Coote, he was conveyed on a hurdle to the place of execution.[5] His head was spiked on the tower of the Castle, where it was still to be seen in the following Spring.[6] His body was given over to some of his followers and interred on Devenish Island.

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[1] *Hist.* II, Part 1, p. 70.

[2] *Spic. Ossor.* I, p. 337.

[3] In *An t-Ultach* VII, no. 5, T. Ó Raifeartaigh is of the opinion that the battle was fought on June 23rd. For an account of the battle see the *Aphorismical Discovery* (in *Hist.* II, Part 1, pp. 84–7); and the Appendix to Borlase's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 28.

[4] *Hist.* II, Part 1, p. 87. See also Lynch, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* I, pp. 203–4; *History of the Warr in Ireland*, p. 129.

[5] Almost all the authorities are unanimous that the order came directly from Coote, not from the Parliament. Major King tried hard to save the Bishop's life.

[6] *Comm.* IV, p. 532.

We have no contemporary portrait of Ever Mac Mahon nor have we any intimate description of his manner or appearance. We have to base our impressions of him on the casual references we find so frequently in the records, memoirs and other documents that have come down to us from the period. He appears to have been a man of dominating personality and great tenacity of purpose. That his influence over Owen Roe and the Ulster Party was very great we have seen already. Even his enemies bear tribute to his greatness. Borlase says of him that he was " much superior in parts to any of that Party (i.e. Old Irish)", and again he adds :—" From the beginning of this rebellion his power was very great with those who were opposed to any reconciliation . . . and over and above those demands which concerned religion, to which they seemed to adhere with more than ordinary zeal and thereby drew a dependency of the clergy to them, they insisted on the restitution of the great estates of Ulster."[1] Ormond paid tribute to his veracity and to his great influence over the Ulster Irish ; but Carte adds that Humphrey Galbraith told Ormond that Ever's election as commander of the Ulster forces was but part of a policy that aimed at casting off the power of the King and English Government in Ireland.[2] An English Jesuit priest, Father George Leyburn, who was chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria and who had met Bishop Mac Mahon, says that he was esteemed as one of the ablest men of the Irish Nation. He also observed that he could hide his thoughts better than the Nuncio.[3]

By the Old Irish Catholics, and particularly by his own people of Ulster, Ever Mac Mahon was always regarded with respect and his memory held in veneration. The anonymous author of the *Sioguidhe Rómhánach* or " Roman Vision ", a long poem in Irish tracing the events of the Confederation period and lamenting the fate of Ireland, has nothing but praise for the dead leader Ever Mac Mahon.[4] After his death the See of Clogher lay vacant for twenty-one years. In 1671 Ever Mac Mahon's nephew, Patrick O'Duffy, a Franciscan, was selected to fill the vacant See. In the papers relating to his appointment we read that " the clergy of Clogher asked for his promotion, by postulation and memorial, desiring him for their Bishop not only on account of the fame of his virtues but also, as the memorial asserts, because he was nephew of the last Bishop of Clogher, who was a man of great talent and zeal for the Faith, and for his country ; in defence of which he was killed by the heretics when he was general of the Catholic army in the time of Cromwell."[5]

SÉAMUS P. MOORE

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[1] Borlase, op. cit., p. 313.
[2] Carte's *Life of Ormond* II, p. 105.
[3] *Hist.* II, Part 1, Introd., p. li.
[4] This poem was edited by Douglas Hyde in *Lia Fáil* II, pp. 195–211.
[5] Brady, *Episcopal Succession in Ireland* I, p. 256–7.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

C

To Red Hugh O'Donnell

FEARGHAL ÓG MAC AN BHAIRD .cc.

1. Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh ;
fogas dó dol a ndimbríogh
muna raibh fa rinn mhuirne
a bhail a chind chomhairle.

2. A láibh aonaigh nó fa fhíon
a bheith a n-onóir airdríogh
um chlár seang lionnglas Lughaidh
geall re hionnmhus d'ollamhuin.

3. Damh féin bheanas a bríogh soin ;
onóir ríogh fhréimhe Dálaigh,
mar ionnmhas do ba lór liom
idir shlógh riondghlas Raoilionn.

4. Buar is eich agas iondmhas
bró chuach is cholg n-imiollghlas
fa chró dtaobhshocair in Trír
mó aonfhocal ó airdrígh.

5. Dá mbeind gan anóir ag Aodh
ní bhiadh muirn orm a n-éantaobh,
draoi do ghlac loise re a linn,
ar Mhac Coise dá gcinnind.

6. Muna bheind tréan ina thigh
dá mbeind mar Mhac Liag Luimnigh
um Chlár sriobhghlan ccuirmthe cCuinn
ní fuighthe iongnadh ionnainn.

7. Niam roithréan ar a dhreich nduinn ;
ní chreidim nach uair orainn
furtacht éigin oiléin Bhreagh
toibhéim éigin ós íseal.

8. A uille re headh gcuirme,
a chogar, a chomhairle,
dá ngabhadh múr cithgheal Cuinn
dhúnn do dhlighfeadh Ó Domhnoill.

9. A n-Éirind na n-aibhniodh lag
rí is ollamh agas easbag,
triur is uaisle, ós dóibh dhleaghair,
uaimse is cóir a chreideamhuin.

10. Ionand iniocland más fíor
do rígh is d'ollamh airdríogh,
barr claon far cuibhrigheadh coill,
cuimhnigheadh Aodh a n-abraim.

11. Re codhnach Doire a-deirim
nach fiu mé, is hé aithnighim,
muirn ollumhan damh do dháil
fa mhagh gcollumhal gCruacháin.

12. Dámadh fiu mé hí d'fhagháil
díoghrais ríogh fpuirt fParthaláin
thall fa thriath flaithfhréimhi Floinn
ní bhiath aithmhéile oroinn.

13. A ndíoghrais ríogh fhréimhe Cuinn
do-chím daoine ag dol romhainn ;
is tríd bhíos, gidh deacar dhamh,
gríos mo leacan ar lasadh.

14. Gidh náir dhamhsa idir Chrú Cuinn
bheith gan díoghrais Í Dhomhnoill,
is mó is fhíornár dá aghaidh
um Chró gcíoghbhán gConchabhair.

15. Gan mhuirn ní thigim 'n-a thigh ;
as í onóir mhac Mílidh
fa Chlár seang ccleathumhal gCuinn
beathughadh is fhearr orainn.

16. Gibé ar tús dá dtugthar neimh
go hóg is hé 'n-a naoidhin
ní mharand 's gan hí d'fhagháil ;
do-ní a anam d'ionggabháil.

17. Dála an ridire reimhe
re rígh Fraingc feacht d'áiridhe
fa mhuirn fhinnleomhain Chláir Chuinn
dom dháigh imdheoghaidh orainn.

18. An ridire óg uaibhreach
do-chuaidh lá ar each n-anshuaimhneach
d'fhios dhaighríogh an tíre thoir
far mhíne gairbhshíon gheamhraigh.

19. Tug an rí d'éis a haithne
grádh don deigheach dearrscnaighthe ;
lé níor dhodholta a gceann cleath
an tseang shomholta shuaimhneach.

20. " Riom budh-dheasd déana mo thoil,
a ridire óig éachtaigh,
reac ar séd oichtbheann n-Eorpa
do sdéd coirpsheang ceineolta ".

21. " Ar son m'eich, a fholt niamhdha,
mar fhear gráidh eadh éinbhliadhna
—bíodh do thal lind ag lighe—
gabh rind " ar in ridire.

22. " Goir chugad meisi a measg cháigh
ad chomhairli, céim neamhnáir,
feadh aoinbhliadhna, buan in bhreath,
a ghruaidh taoibhniamhdha thibhreach ".

23. A each ar an eacht soin uaidh
do ghabh an deighrí ar deaghuair,
níor cheil an rí a fhíorrún air ;
'n-a ríoghdhún do bhí bliadhain.

24. A bhreath féin nír fháth orchra ;
fuair do chiond a chondortha
thoiriomhain mar budh lór lais
d'ór is d'oiriodhaibh ionnmhais.

25. Meise in ridire reimhe,
Aodh Ruadh an rí oirnighe,
díoghrais mh'ealadhna is hí an t-each ;
neamhumhla dhí nír dheighbhreath.

26. Reacfad mar ridire an eich
ar sheirc mbuain bhias ar neimhchleith,
bláth na gcraobh ó Chlár Line,
mo dhán re hAodh oirnidhe.

27. Gidh ionand ní hionann dúinn;
ar rígh Breagh na n-éacht n-iomthnúidh
gruaidh nár fan craoibhniamhdha an choill
ní grádh aoinbhliadhna iarraim.

28. Ag síol cConaill na gcolg tte
a-tá an aicme ór fhás sinne,
dá méadachadh tar Fonn bhFáil
um shédAchadh gcorr cCruacháin.

29. A cConall in chláir thairthigh
fearand suas dar seanaithribh
tug an cuire far claon fiodh,
saor ar an uili ainchion.

30. A fhiaghnaise ar éigsibh cáigh
má do thuillios hé d'fhagháil
dlighiodh mh'aithreach druim ar dhruim
ó chiniodh chaithmheach Conaill.

31. Slán ag Aodh [dá bhfaghar] cheart
m'aicme a hucht mh'ealadhan;
a fhagháil muna fiu mé
ní bhiu dh'anáir na héigse.

32. Ua Sémais airdrí Fhóid Rois
grádh meic Aodha meic Mhaghnais
fa Iath Fáil na ngéirreand nglas
do dháimh Éireand is ionnmhas.

Ionnmhas.

Translation

1. *Ollamh's* wealth is prince's glory; if an *ollamh* living with his patron is not made much of he is like to be despised.

2. To be honoured by his prince on meeting-days or at wine-feasts counts for an *ollamh* as wealth all through the graceful blue-laked Land of Lughaidh.

3. This applies to me; all the wealth I want is to be honoured by the prince of the stock of Dálach among the grey-eyed host of Raoile.

4. Throughout the quiet-bordered Steading of the Three a single word from the great prince is worth more than kine and steeds and wealth or heaps of goblets and blue-bladed swords.

5. Were I not honoured by Aodh I should be held in affection nowhere, even though I were a greater man than Mac Coise who won such glory in his day.

6. Were I like Mac Liag of Luimneach, no one throughout the bright-streamed ale-feasting Land of Conn would think me worth notice if I were not powerful in Aodh's house.

7. I have no great influence over this bright-faced hero, this man who can dispel all trouble from the Isle of Breagha, therefore I think that he must in his secret mind have found something to blame in me.

8. If Ó Domhnaill is to rule Conn's Fort of the sun-showers he should give me his company at ale-feast and should chat and take counsel with me.

9. In Éire of the stately streams prince and poet and bishop are the three noblest of men; as they have a right to have it said of them, you must believe me when asserting it.

10. The same honour-price, 'tis said, is due for prince and prince's poet; let Aodh, the flowing-haired hero who has all hazels beneath his power, remember my words.

11. I admit to the Captain of Doire that I am unworthy to enjoy a poet's honour throughout the Plain of Cruachán of the weighed-down hazels.

12. Were I worthy of enjoying the special favour of the Lord of Partholán's Fort, I should be glad enough to be living beneath the Lord of Flann's princely race.

13. I see folk preferred to me in the affection of the Prince of Conn's race; I feel it hard, it makes my cheek burn.

14. It brings shame on me among the race of Conn to be deprived of Ó Domhnaill's good favour, but the shame it brings on his brow is still greater throughout white-breasted Conchobhar's race.

15. I shall not enter his house except I am to have his favour; the life that pleases me best is to be honoured by Míl's sons throughout the lovely Plain of Conn with its fruit-heavy trees.

16. Whoever has been given some poison from his infancy can not live without it afterwards, it preserves his life.

17. What happened once to a knight of old in dealing with the King of France, will, I think, happen to me too as regards the favour of the fair Lion of Conn's Plain.

18. That proud young knight rode one day on a prancing horse to visit the good King of the East Land for whom even the rough winter shows mild.

19. When the king saw the splendid horse, he fell in love with it; that graceful admirable quiet steed was keen to charge against spears.

20. "Do me a favour now, O gallant young knight; exchange thy graceful high-bred steed for the wealth of the breast-shaped mountains of Europe".

21. "In return for my steed, O fair-haired Lord" said the knight, "do thou consent to my having a position with thee for a year, accept me thus.

22. "O brilliant smiling-faced Prince, summon me publicly to be with thee in thy council for a year—a permanent thing and a mark of honour".

23. Thus in a happy hour did the good king receive the knight's steed; he lavished his good favours on the knight who abode a year in his castle.

24. The knight's request caused him no regret, he got in that East Land according to his compact all he wanted of gold and quantities of wealth.

25. I am that knight; Aodh Ruadh is that anointed king; my choice art is the steed; 'twere not good to object to it.

26. Like the knight who owned the horse I will sell, in return for constant public favour, my poetry to anointed Aodh, that flower of the branches from the Plain of Line.

27. My request may be a matter of indifference to him, it is not so to me; 'tis no mere yeár's love I ask of the gallant Prince of Breagha, for whose modest cheek the wood spreads its lovely branches.

28. The stock whence I come belongs to hot-sworded Conall's race which has multiplied over the Field of Fál, the rich hilly Plain of Cruachán.

29. In the rich-soiled (Land of) Conall land was given to my ancestors by that race to which every wood bowed down and which was never guilty of evil-doing.

30. I appeal to the poets of every race to witness that I have deserved to get all my ancestral rights from Conall's generous race.

31. If a just decision be given, my race is safe in Aodh's hands owing to my poetry; if I be held unworthy of that decision I can never again speak of honour being given poetry.

32. The son of Aodh son of Maghnus (Ó Domhnaill), the grandson of Séamus (Mac Domhnaill), High-prince of the Land of Ros—his love means true wealth for Éire's poets throughout the blue-peaked Land of Fál.

NOTES

MSS.: Book of O'Donnell's Daughter, fol 17 (D), O'Conor Don's Book 195 (C). Text is D except as below: 1*c*. mui. C *d*. comh. CD 3*a*. bea. D 4*b*. -glas D 7*b*. ffu. D 8*a*. gcorma CD *c*. chith. D *d*. dhúinn CD 9*c*.–ghar CD *d*. deamh CD 10*a*. *Leg*. ein.? 11*b*. *Leg*. é? 12*b*. *Leg*. Phuirt Pha. *d*. bhiadh; -mhéla D 13*c*. gé deacair CD 14*d*. Gé CD *c*. -náir CD 16*bc*. *Leg*. é, í 17*c*. cláir CD *d*. dóigh CD;–bhaidh CD 18*c*. dei CD *d*. geimh. D 20*d*. cin CD 21*c*. thoil CD 22*d*. tha CD 24*c*. leis CD 27*c*. náir D 28*c*. fhonn CD 29*a*. *Leg*. Í Chonaill? *b*.–iph D 30*b*. *Leg*. é 31*a*. mun fhaghar CD *d*. onóir CD 32*b*. magh. CD.

REVIEWS

The Meaning of the Mass

MISSA EST. By Daniel-Rops and L. Albin-Guillot. Paris : Arthème Fayard. 1951. Broché 250 frs. Relié 350 frs.

HANDS AT MASS. By Walter Nurnberg. Introduction by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. London : Chapman and Hall. 1951. 12s. 6d.

THE BREAKING OF BREAD. By John Coventry, S.J. With photographs by John Gillick, S.J. London : Sheed and Ward. 1950. 10s. 6d.

STONOR. By Robert Julian Stonor, O.S.B., M.A. Newport, Mon. : R. H. Johns. 1951. 21s.

The book listed first above is by two laymen ; the second is by a layman and a priest ; the third and fourth are by priests. The order of listing is to draw attention to the fact that a distinguished French intellectual has the interest and the knowledge to write a very good book on the Mass. He has also to his credit a life of Christ (as has Mauriac) which in seven or eight years has gone into some three hundred and fifty editions. With Paul Claudel, Jean Guitton, Stanislaus Fumet, Gabriel Marcel and other French laymen, he writes on the life of the spirit with a competence that—unfortunately—for centuries past has been confined to ecclesiastics. They are making amends for the terrible *trahison des clercs*.

Missa Est gives photographs of all the important actions of the Mass with a commentary and prayers by Daniel-Rops. Here and there both pictures and prayers totter on the brink of a sentimental precipice ; but some of the photographs can challenge even Nurnberg's (which says much) and no higher praise can be given to many of the prayers than to say that they have the accent of a Claudel or—more faintly—of a Péguy. The tail-pieces, in themselves interesting, are out of keeping with the solidity of the photographs. They more than totter on the sentimental brim : they have fallen right in.

Hands at Mass is a sequence of photographic studies of the hands of the priest at Mass, with an introduction by Father Martindale who throughout his life has written so much and so well of the Mass. The photographs are altogether extraordinary and altogether sincere. " Before photography can speak, it must learn to serve as a subjective expression of experience. It must neither generalise nor embellish. In speaking of reality, the simple statement is enough." Nurnberg fulfils the promise of his foreword. His photographs, impersonal though they are (the priest's face is not once shown) are profoundly moving. Each one merits study and provokes thought. To the layman, deprived more and more by church architecture of his right to be a *circumstans*, this book of beautiful pictures offers a place near the altar ; to the priest, dulled perhaps by routine to the wonder of *his* place, they cannot but be a new inspiration. Such a publication is a new departure for Messrs. Chapman and Hall. It does honour to their publishing house and it is to be hoped that Catholics will ensure it the sales it deserves.

Sheed and Ward have been giving us good books for so long that we take their generosity for granted. *The Breaking of Bread* must be unique among their publications for the richness of its illustration. Father Gillick's sixty-three photographs of the Mass are very little behind the professional photographs of the other two books (but why—of all the photographs—should his artistic sense have failed in " The Elevation of the Host " ? Here he is sadly behind). Father Coventry matches his colleague's pictures with a short history of the Mass and a commentary on each of the prayers (which are printed in full—a lack in Daniel-Rop's book). He pleads guilty to having pilfered unashamedly the achievements of the scholars in order to lay the gist of their discoveries, in as simple a form as possible before the general

public. The result is " high popularizing " at its best, even if the pundits—who are not catered for by notes or names—may quote their Jungmann against him. And even a pundit may find he has something to learn from this simple and clear exposition of " how our Western Mass enshrines and brings to us alive, as it were, the passage of Christ through the lands where our own civilisation, our own ways of thought and expression were fostered and matured."

The only regret one has in reading these books is that all three authors did not develop their brief suggestive remarks on the meaning of the Mass. " The Mass is God's wonderful devising whereby Calvary is brought to us . . . *This* human nature, this twentieth century, with all its blemishes and needs, is offered to God in Christ. This people of London, of Birmingham, this village congregation is drawn into the sacrifice of Christ." (Coventry) " The Mass is essentially the memorial of a drama, a drama that is ever being replayed, ever being presented to us, a tragedy eternally prolonged . . . It is the Passion of Christ that is at the heart of the Mass ; the Passion called up, announced, celebrated, consummated. It is around that fundamental fact of the Christian faith, Redemption by the sacrifice of the cross, that the Mass has been built up." (Daniel-Rops) "We, creatures of a day, continuously represent Our Lord, and in Him ourselves, to our Eternal Father, Who is also His." (Martindale).

It is these few essential ideas that need stressing above all else that concerns the Mass. For all those " signs " so beautifully photographed in these books would be so many empty shells, were they not " signs "—sacraments—of the Cross, did they not re-call and re-present Calvary. The Mass is a remembering ; but it is not a mere remembering, as in the Protestant Communion-service. It is a remembering that is unique because through the merciful devising of the God-man, *pridie quam pateretur*, it contains the Thing and the Person remembered. The Mass is " charged with the grandeur " of Calvary ; by it we of the twentieth century are as near to Calvary as those who stood on the hillock outside the city gates and watched the drip of the Blood. There is no question of course of the circumstances of the crucifixion being repeated, as some prayer formulae would seem to suggest. But in a mysterious yet real manner the eternal essence of that act and its power are made present wherever in time and space a priest " does this " in memory of Jesus Christ. This century of ours has witnessed an amazing reawakening to the power and mystery of the Mass : never has so much been written on It. Is it that this age of the atom is going to need Calvary more than any other age since the age of the apostles ? At any rate the man who to-day neglects to deepen his faith in the Mass does so to the peril of our time. For we, no less than the Philippians, " live in an age that is twisted out of its true pattern." And only the Mass which—literally —contains the true pattern, " Jesus Christ and Him crucified ", can set it straight.

What the Mass meant to thirty generations of a great English family is the heart of the story of *Stonor*. Stonor, hidden away in the Chilterns, some forty miles from London and twenty from Oxford, has been in the possession of the same Catholic family for at least eight hundred years ; and its chapel is one of the only three pre-reformation churches in England which have been used exclusively for the Mass. " These present walls, in the shelter of which the great Sir John de Stonore knelt in prayer at the Mass in the days when the French of the Norman conquerors was still the official speech of the land, have witnessed a long unbroken line of Stonors, who have come and knelt with their wives and children, day after day, year after year, century after century, at the same Mass at which Thomas and his small sisters kneel to-day." The story told in these pages is full and varied, for the Stonors were the friends and confidants of kings, until the kings claimed their consciences as well as their loyalty. Only one Stonor in all the time of persecution deserted the

Mass and he was later reconciled and his mother Lady Cecily died in prison. She herself was a niece of Blessed Sebastian Newdigate, the martyred Carthusian. It was when she was mistress of Stonor that in August, 1581, the Privy Council ordered Sir Henry Neville to search it " and to examine such persons as they shall find in the house as to what Masses have been there said." The Mass was always the crime *par excellence*. And, thanking Sir Henry later in the month, the Privy Council warned him that he was " to deface the Massing-stuff." It was in Stonor in the June of that year that Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J., printed his famous *Ten Reasons* and from there smuggled into Oxford the copies which, to the horror of the Dons, were found scattered on the benches of St. Mary's Church when they gathered there for Convocation. And it was from Stonor that Campion set out on the journey that was to end on the scaffold. He is but one of some twenty saints and martyrs connected, directly or indirectly, with Stonor and its chapel.

Most impressive too, though not based on fully conclusive evidence, is Dom Julian's claim about Stonor's earlier history. It is that the Mass, if not on the very site of Stonor, at least in the nearby valleys, goes back to the days when a Celtic community, curiously surviving in the Chilterns, faced persecution for their faith in the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. " It is quite possible that the chain of Masses stretches back, celebrated by Celtic priests, long before the coming of Saint Birinus (about 630), until we come to the mission of Pope Eleutherius, when each morning's Mass was separated by less than one hundred and fifty years from the Upper Room in Jerusalem."

Keeping that " Celtic " and Catholic background in mind, Irish readers of this book will understand better the Benedictine monk, chaplain to the Irish Guards, who spent ten midwinter days and nights on Croagh Patrick in 1944, offering Mass there for his men, who were to bear, as ever, so much of the fighting in the last advance through France. And when we sing " Faith of Our Fathers "—now almost our second national anthem—may we remember in humility and in love that the ' Fathers ' of that hymn were the Stonors and their fellow-English Catholics who rivalled for centuries even Ireland's loyalty to the Mass.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

THE THEATRE AND THE POET

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE THEATRE. Edited by Phyllis Hartnoll. Oxford University Press. 1951. 35*s.*

POETRY AND DRAMA. By T. S. Eliot. London: Faber & Faber. 1951. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THESE two books are a useful addition to any playgoer's library, the first being concerned with everything connected with the production of plays, the second with Mr. T. S. Eliot's writing of verse-plays. The first is almost one thousand pages in length, the second little over a score. This might seem symptomatic of the way in which poetic plays today are overlaid by the vast incubus of theatrical organization ; and yet the success of Mr. Eliot's plays in the modern theatre shows that the poetic spark can set off occasionally not only the torches but the neon lights. Both books are useful, one in an informative sense, the other in a seminal sense, and each in its own way should promote good drama.

The Oxford Companion covers such a wide range of subjects in its alphabetic survey of authors, actors, audiences, lighting, production and make-up, that a reviewer may be forgiven for choosing the method of the spotlight rather that of

the floodlight. It is excellent, for example, on Jesuit drama, with "its peculiar combination of entertainment and moral purpose, of classic pattern and flamboyant execution." The acting of tragedies and comedies was included in the first full *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum* of 1586 as an aid to the study of the humanities; and, in various forms, at courts and among the people, Jesuit drama, which developed a very high degree of technical skill, lasted on well into the eighteenth century, influencing opera in technique and rivalling it in popularity. The place of the tenth century Benedictine abbess, Hroswitha, in linking classical drama with the mystery and morality plays is also acknowledged; and it is refreshing to find Seneca, Aristotle and Shakespeare assessed in terms of the theatre and not of the museum. Dramatists, from Aristophanes to Thornton Wilder, are judged justly, on the whole; the main point about the latter's controversial play *The Skin of our Teeth*, however, is missed; Wilder was trying to do, in another medium, what James Joyce attempted in *Finnegans Wake*, and this microcosmic-macrocosmic experiment deserved some assessment.

Irish readers will be particularly interested in Professor Ellis-Fermor's survey of the Irish theatre, which is as able as her book on the Irish dramatic movement would lead one to expect. It is excellent in its judgment of the vital elements of our theatre's development during the first three decades of this century and it rightly surveys the chief contributions of the Gate, the Galway and the Ulster theatres. Her account of more recent years is somewhat disappointing; there is no mention of Austin Clarke and the Lyric Theatre; Paul Vincent Carroll's later plays are assessed too charitably, O'Casey's too narrowly; and, although inferior figures receive some mention, Gerald Healy, Mervyn Wall, Jack B. Yeats and F. J. McCormick are not mentioned at all. But there is no mistaking the warmth of the tribute which Professor Ellis-Fermor pays to the tradition of our theatre as a whole.

A link with Mr. Eliot's book is the section on poetic drama, which places Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory and O'Casey among the chief dramatists who have influenced its direction in this century. In his Theodore Spencer Memorial lecture at Harvard (of which this is a reprint) Mr. Eliot singled out Yeats and Synge for special mention. The poetry of Synge's dialogue, he pointed out, is by its nature limited in its availability to modern poets. Yeats, on the other hand, worked towards a point at which his experimentation resulted in a form of verse which could be used by non-Irish poets writing in English. Mr. Eliot places this point somewhere in Yeats's last years. Theoretically, this might be questioned, for there is a case for placing it twenty years earlier, with *The Dreaming of the Bones*; the immediate and exciting fact, however, is that, in terms of verse, Yeats's *Purgatory* was Eliot's *Cocktail Party*; which is perhaps true in more senses than one.

But the excitement of reading Eliot's lecture is much deeper than this; he sets out with such simple sincerity his own experience of writing one verse play after another and what he learned from each of them, that it is as if a sculptor talked in his studio about technique, while the sight of his statues around the walls provided the overtones of completion. He is amusing about some of his problems, the Furies in *The Family Reunion*, for instance:

> "We put them on the stage, and they looked like uninvited guests who had strayed in from a fancy dress ball. We concealed them behind gauze, and they suggested a still out of a Walt Disney film. We made them dimmer, and they looked like shrubbery outside the window. I have seen other expedients tried: I have seen them signalling from across the garden, or swarming on to the stage like a football team, and they are never right. They never succeed in being either Greek goddesses or modern spooks. But their failure is merely a symptom of the failure to adjust the ancient with the modern."

The whole lecture is, in effect, a sincere plea for what he calls the *transparency* of poetry in the theatre ; that is, for dramatic poetry which does not blur character or situation or action ; but which reveals the essence of all, at once clarifying and heightening all with the strange radiance of art. One hopes that the followers of a shallower Muse, reading this lecture, will qualify the proposition that the lady is not for burning.

ROGER MCHUGH

THE FINANCES OF PARTITION

IRELAND : FINANCES OF PARTITION. By Labhrás Ó Nualláin. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1952. Pp. 196. 18*s*.

THE financial relations between Britain and the Belfast Government have long been a vexed question. On the one hand it has been customary to maintain that the Six County Government is subsidized from Westminster. On the other as much vigour has been spent emphasizing that not alone is the Six Counties paying its own way but it is making a handsome annual contribution to imperial expenditure as well. The purpose of both these claims is propagandist. If Britain is subsidizing the Belfast Government, it has a continuing responsibility for maintaining partition. The Unionist stresses his contribution to Britain lest he be found to be a charge on the already hard pressed taxpayers of Britain. So far the question has not been studied academically and it is opportune that Mr. Ó Nualláin should present a review of the question in an unbiassed and serious work.

Mr. Ó Nualláin confines his attention rigidly to the fiscal transactions between the two Governments and in fact for the most part only current account dealings are studied as there is little evidence on capital transactions. The main sources of information are official publications. Budgetary statements, estimates and reports of committees of public accounts at Stormont and Westminster rank first in importance. The Colwyn Committee reports of 1924 and 1925 and various White Papers on the financial provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, help to establish the original plan for financial relations. Most of the subsequent modifications of the position arose in connection with unemployment and social service agreements and the relevant statutes and published papers have been used. Besides these sources the official debates, newspapers and miscellaneous works have been examined.

The author's approach is historical and his subject falls naturally into two distinct periods, the pre-war years (1920–39) and the subsequent decade (1940–50). In dealing with both periods Mr. Ó Nualláin follows the same pattern. He reviews the growth and development of the financial system during the period with special treatment for relevant topics such as the collapse of the Unemployment Fund in the late 1920's and the wartime boom in the last decade. He rounds off his study of each period with a chapter on the imperial contribution. His conclusions throughout are amply supported by statistical tables.

The value of Mr. Ó Nualláin's work can best be assessed by comparison with the financial chapter of the *Ulster Year Book*, 1950, an official publication of the Stormont government. In this it is claimed that between 1920 and 1949 the Six Counties made an imperial contribution of £262,000,000. This Mr. Ó Nualláin shows is a gross figure paid to Britain and does not take account of direct grants-in-aid from Britain to the Six Counties. These grants were substantial in the pre-war period and enabled the Belfast Government to avert bankruptcy. The unem-

ployment roll in the north-east of Ireland at that time exceeded 100,000. The war helped to reduce this, and in 1942 for the first time the income of the Six County Unemployment Fund exceeded the expenditure. Food subsidies and similar payments by Britain increased but the high rate of taxation, over which Stormont had no control, helped to swell the imperial contribution. Since the war the Conservative Belfast government, because of the announced ' step by step ' policy by which they keep abreast of British social services, has been placed in the anomalous position of adopting socialist legislation which their party members had opposed at Westminster. The cost of these welfare services has necessitated increased grants from Britain and these may be offset against the gross contribution. One other item Mr. Ó Nualláin deducts from the gross figure, that is the land annuities. This is possibly a controversial point and, while I accept that he is correct in doing so, I suggest that he would have been wiser to have stated his final conclusions as to the actual imperial contribution in alternative forms, one deducting the land annuities and the other not deducting them. The overall result is much the same. Mr. Ó Nualláin finds that £82,000,000 is the sum total true contribution over the last thirty years. If he had not deducted the land annuities the sum total would have been but £100,000,000, in either case a substantial reduction on the official claim.

More important, perhaps, than these total figures are the annual totals arrived at by Mr. Ó Nualláin. These show that, with the solitary exception of 1928, in no year from March 1925 to March 1940 did payments from the Six Counties to Britain exceed the receipts from Britain. There was in fact an annual subsidy to the Belfast Government. During the war years the Six Counties did make a financial contribution, but since 1948 there has been a return to the pre-war position and Britain is again paying for social services of a standard which the Six Counties cannot themselves afford. In only eight of the twenty-five years ending in 1950 was the Belfast Government self-supporting. That those were war years lends strong support for the view that the Six County economy flourishes only under wartime conditions.

While Mr. Ó Nualláin assesses the extent of the actual financial transactions between the two Governments, he also dispels many of the mists of uncertainty and obscurity which surrounded them. An example from the *Ulster Year Book*, 1950, will suffice. According to it the Joint Exchequer Board, representative of the British and the Belfast Governments, determines the amount of the imperial contribution. Yet the present work effectively demonstrates that the Joint Exchequer Board has not met since 1935 and that its functions have been usurped by the Treasury and the Six County Ministry of Finance.

The book presents a reasoned study of a complex question and the author wisely refrains from political comment. In an epilogue he refers to the controversy regarding dominion Home Rule which has arisen in recent years in the Unionist ranks but he does not point his conclusions with political purpose. Those against partition are presented with the argument, which may influence some British taxpayers, that Stormont is again being subsidized. Unionists however, may appeal to Labour ranks in Belfast on the grounds that only by remaining in the United Kingdom can they keep their social services. From the national point of view it clears the air and shows that aspirations for Irish unity are not a cloak for envy of Belfast wealth. Mr. Ó Nualláin's study shows that, in certain circumstances, the Belfast area could be a liability. He is to be congratulated on a capable piece of research and on calmly presenting his facts. Truth is more important than a fleeting political gain.

T. P. O'NEILL

The Problem of Our Fisheries

EMIGRATION : THE ANSWER. By J. P. Digby. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1951. pp. 136. 15s.

Mr. Digby has written a provocative book in which he deals for the most part with one of the many facets of the emigration problem, the inland fisheries question. His book will stimulate thought and promote useful discussion among those interested in our salmon and trout fisheries, even though it may leave many readers unconvinced of the soundness of his proposals.

Inland fisheries are assuredly worthy of greater consideration than it has been feasible to give them during the past ten or twelve years. The Fisheries Act of 1939 was put into cold storage during the emergency and did not begin to operate until 1948. Hence the time is now ripe for a re-survey of the whole position. It is, however, an over-simplification to state, as Mr. Digby does on page 65, that all that is needed to lay the foundations of a prosperous fishery industry is a short amending Act making provision for the commercial operation of the industry. No piece of draft legislation can hope to achieve its object unless its provisions (particularly the financial ones) are based on fact and sound reasoning.

In his eagerness to convince readers of the worth of his proposals Mr. Digby has unwittingly permitted himself to indulge in both over-statement and understatement to an extent that tends to defeat his purpose. Seeking to support his estimate of the potential output from our salmon rivers under better organized production by adducing what he regards as evidence of the abundant supply in by-gone days, he tells us " It is commonly held that salmon was at one time the common food of the people " (page 7), and he adds that servants and apprentices insisted that salmon be not fed to them more often than thrice a week. While there is a basis of " dubhairt bean liom go ndubhairt bean lei " for this legend, genuine testimony on the subject has never been adduced. A reasonable explanation is that in times prior to rapid transit and the use of ice as preservative, gluts of salmon were landed during the season at various points adjacent to the main rivers, and had to be either consumed *locally* forthwith, or salted down for future use. Anyone who has tasted salted salmon will appreciate its unpopularity as a regular item in the dietary. It is an overstatement to suggest that salmon was ever the common food of the people a whole. Indeed on p. 15 the author adverts, in another connection, to the absence of transport and the resulting localization of markets as reasons for the low price formerly obtainable for salmon and the consequent lack of commercial interest in it displayed by the governing classes.

In arguments on which he bases conclusions relating to what he terms the rhythm of the salmon (i.e., a five-year return to its natal river from the date of birth), the author seems to have confused certain relevant factors, and in attempting to correlate conditions here during 1922 (the Civil War year) with the abnormal catches of 1927 he misses two points. First, as is recorded in the official report for 1922, that year was a most unfortunate one for our salmon rivers : there was no way of enforcing protection for the fish, which were wholly at the mercy of those who chose to pursue illegal netting, river poisoning and even dynamiting. The fact that the licence duty was generally not being collected on the nets used did not tend to reduce their numbers—quite the contrary ! Secondly, the year 1927 was, as Mr. Digby states, one of phenomenal catches (at least of spring fish), but this was not peculiar to Ireland as it applied to every salmon river in Western Europe.

One may quote another instance of an apparent tendency to handpick arguments with which to support a pre-conceived theory. Referring to the decline in catches of salmon, the author writes (p. 40) : " That the rot is a continuing one is confirmed

by the fact that the recorded catch for the year 1945 was 1,018,650 lbs., or less than half that of the average for the preceding twenty years." Here again two important points have been overlooked. First, the 1945 returns showed record low catches for all the salmon rivers in Western Europe : international scientists are still debating the matter. Secondly, the following are the figures of our own recorded catch for each of the five subsequent years :

1946	1,592,285
1947	1,663,836
1948	2,084,226
1949	2,192,798
1950	2,103,094

It seems a pity that Mr. Digby failed to note this rise in the curve.

It is in Chapter XI that the author leaves himself most vulnerable to comment. He discusses the main catching weir erected near Thomond Bridge and makes an ingenuous attempt (without biological authority) to explain existing conditions in the tributary Mulcair as the outcome of the weir's operation. Here he is either not aware of the full facts or has not quite understood them. The annual reports of the E.S.B. show clearly that the catching method introduced at the Thomond Weir has not been a financial success. Yet on p. 54 he writes :

" So successful was this method of measured propagation that in the year 1943 the revenue from this small river (Mulcair), plus that of the eel fisheries which are included in the financial returns, paid the interest and sinking fund on the £176,000 capital involved in the purchase of the whole of the Shannon fisheries, and made a profit of £6,450."

Is it not true that during the year mentioned above (1943), the E.S.B. operated in the lower Shannon area four ordinary stake nets, set up at a cost not exceeding £2,500, which took one-third more salmon than did the big structure at Thomond Bridge which cost about £35,000 ? Moreover, the apparent profit of £6,450 would normally be reduced by some £3,000 for fishery rates, but at that time assessments had not yet been fixed. It is no secret that the cumulative loss on the Shannon fisheries now stands at a high figure.

On the general implications of Mr. Digby's plan to substitute trap-weirs for nets in the capture of salmon, space does not permit of anything like full comment. From the social viewpoint, the compulsory retirement of a large number of vigorous men, who would presumably become State pensioners on ceasing work as netters, does not seem attractive. On the engineering side, the reader would like reliable opinion that the provision of a trap of this kind for every salmon river is really feasible. On the biological side, he would like scientific support for the contention that the plan is workable. Without such confirmatory testimony Mr. Digby's scheme runs the risk of being regarded mainly as the product of enthusiasm.

Mr. Digby has made a serious contribution to the general literature bearing on our national economy and has rendered good service to the inland fisheries. The more people who read the book and the wider the span of their criticisms, the better for our fisheries.

J. D. RUSH

THE MEANING OF BEAUTY

THE MEANING OF BEAUTY. By Eric Newton. London. Longmans. 1950; pp. 1–203. 18*s*.

ONE must state at the outset that this is a delightful book, both entertaining and instructive. Mr. Newton is an art critic whose rapidly growing reputation has been considerably enhanced by his recent full-length study of Tintoretto. In the book

under review, though the author is specifically concerned with an enquiry into the nature of beauty, the reader will find to his great pleasure that the philosopher has not really superseded the art critic, and that what he is offered is chiefly a series of admirably clear, well informed, and illuminating comments on the art of painting in general and on the particular beauty of a number of examples of the art, from Bellini to Picasso. The earlier chapters contain an empirical discussion of certain principles, which most readers will find eminently satisfying. Then the author is soon on to his own field. The central chapter is an analysis of Veronese's *The Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, which can only be described as brilliant. What a splendid comment on this picture is the sentence : ' This is no picture of a mystical marriage. It is a picture of Venetian citizens taking part in a pageant representing the event'. (pp. 89–90). From that starting-point, Mr. Newton analyses the different layers of meaning in Veronese's picture with lightly carried but very real erudition and with delicate sensitivity. Mr. Newton's comments on more recent works are equally interesting and instructive. He did not quite convince one reader that the epithet ' beautiful ' could be applied to the paintings of Picasso, but he did make that painter's work much more intelligible.

However, whether Mr. Newton likes it or not, his work is an essay in philosophy ; and one must join issue with him in regard to the scathing criticisms of philosophers in his Introductory chapter. Mr. Newton clearly despises the philosophers' attempts to define beauty. He finds it fascinating to watch the play of the ' doomed philosophers ' arguing about beauty (p. 10). He knows beautiful objects himself ; and he has reason to be amused because some of the philosophers have invaded his domain and many of them do not know the beautiful objects he knows. But when the philosophers seek to understand what beauty is, they are on their own ground ; and conversely, that Mr. Newton knows beautiful things and can explain to himself why he regards *these* things as beautiful, does not mean that he knows what beauty is, any more than the child who knows some true statements knows what truth is. In seeking to define beauty, therefore, he is leaving the home pitch, and the philosophers in their turn may legitimately be amused by the naïveté of his performance on their ground. Consider, for instance, his excursion into epistemology. Mr. Newton shows that he is not a subjectivist : he concludes from his experience that a universe exists and has the kind of qualities we seem to sense it to have (p. 11). But he cannot justify his conclusion. He tells us that ' between reality itself and our limited consciousness of reality there is an enormous gulf.' If I am real and my thoughts are real and I am self-conscious in the sense of being conscious of self, then reality is immediately given to me. Where is the gulf ? Since in being conscious of self, I am concomitantly aware of other things *with the same immediacy ?* (Which is not the same thing as the Cartesian *Cogito, ergo sum*). True, Mr. Newton assures us that it is ' useless to remind ourselves ' of this gulf. However, if the gulf be there, it is clearly so important that we must never let ourselves forget it until we have bridged it. One cannot have it both ways. That is to say, one cannot begin with the subjectivists' problem of ' deducing ' the universe from our experience of it, and at the same time accept the non-philosopher's dogmatic and uncritical acceptance of such a universe. For Mr. Newton, as for most, the reality of the universe is not a *conclusion*, but an intuition, a starting-point for the beginning of rational experience. Mr. Newton's mirror analogy (on p. 14) is also subject to the same kind of criticism. No doubt Mr. Newton could give an accurate account of the phenomena of sensation and perception if required to do so ; but if literally all we have is a mirror reflecting the universe, then all we can say is that there is a mirror, and we really have no right to say that what it reflects is anything other than the processes and contents of the mirror itself. Any other conclusion must depend on some other premise, itself

existential and probably also causal, e.g., ' There exists something which is being reflected ' ; or, ' These images in my mirror are being caused by the universe.' But these are assumptions I cannot from the nature of the case make, since all I have by definition is the mirror.

Mr. Newton is not aware that the sentence he quotes with approval from a letter he received from a scientist, which ' ought to be a law of thought ' and which is ' so obviously true ', is only a paraphrase of the ancient and medieval *Quidquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis recipitur.* However, the use of this principle to establish that ' what a man calls colour is merely a sensation in the human eye ' is simply a mistaken theory of perception and a very uncritical acceptance of Berkeleian idealism. ' The nature of colour depends on the construction of the eye,' Mr. Newton tells us. And later on, he very rightly warns us that we should not mistake a description of our experience for a description of the thing experienced. Yet, that is precisely what he does. What depends on our eye is the sensation-of-colour, that is, the sensing or becoming aware of any sensory quality depends on the sensory receptor, the intact organism, and consciousness ; plus, of course, a sensory object. If the nature of colour, rather than the nature of our awareness of colour, depended on the eye, then Berkeley was right (*esse in percipi*) and Hume was right, and scepticism or solipsism is the only rational conclusion.

In point of fact, Mr. Newton does not display either a clear understanding of, or any real acquaintance with, the philosophical theories he derides. One suspects that what he really means by ' philosophy ' is the bit of Kantian apriorism and British empiricism which no literate person over sixteen in England can altogether avoid ; and if that is what ' philosophy ' means to him, one can sympathize with his amused comments on its efforts to define beauty. However, he refers explicitly to ' that biggish group of philosophers gathered round St. Thomas Aquinas, and his disarmingly simple *Id quod visum placet,* to St. Thomas sitting ' doggedly at his desk asserting that beauty is that which, being seen, pleases. What are the consequences of this bald statement ? ' (11 ; 21). And Mr. Newton goes on to tell us. But what he says has no relevance. For the statement is not a bald one at all. Either Mr. Newton has never read St. Thomas or he is not playing the game with him. The statement occurs, amongst other places, in S.T. I. v. 4. ad Ium, and reads :

> Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod pulchrum et bonum in subjecto sunt idem : quia super eamdem rem fundantur, scilicet super formam : et propter hoc bonum laudatur ut pulchrum : sed ratione differunt : nam bonum proprie respicit appetitum : est enim bonum quod omnia appetunt, et ideo habet rationem finis, nam appetitus est quasi quidam motus ad rem. Pulchrum autem respicit vim cognoscitivam : pulchra enim dicuntur quae visa placent ; unde pulchrum in debita proportione consistit, quia sensus delectantur in rebus debite proportionatis, sicut in sibi similibus ; nam et sensus ratio quaedam est, et omnis virtus cognoscitiva. Et quia cognitio fit per assimilationem, similitudo autem respicit formam, pulchrum proprie pertinet ad rationem causae formalis.

Now this statement is made by St. Thomas, by the way, in answer to an objection : in none of his extant works does he explicitly discuss the nature of beauty. But he says enough here to make it quite clear that his conception of beauty is not summed up in the phrase, *Id quod visum placet.* Especially when this phrase is translated to mean, ' Whenever I see this, I am pleased : therefore it must be beautiful.' This is taken to mean that the quality it attempts to define is made to ' depend on the perceiver and not on the thing perceived.' (p. 13). This is clearly a distortion of St. Thomas's thought. *Pulchra dicuntur quae visa placent,* St. Thomas says ; but, *Pulchrum in debita proportione consistit.* In other words, speaking inductively and

merely stating an empirical fact, those things are said to be beautiful which please the senses (St. Thomas adds hearing to vision in S.T. I-II. xxvii. 1. ad 3m); but beauty itself does not consist in the resulting pleasure: it consists in something in the thing, due proportion. In another context (S.T. I. xxxix. 8) he adds two other constituents of beauty to *debita proportio*: *integritas* and *claritas*. *Integritas* is not translated by the English word 'integrity': it means 'fulness of being,' *plenitudo essendi*. Nor does *claritas* mean "easily understood": the best translation is probably that of M. Maritain, 'ontological splendour'. St. Thomas's argument is therefore very different from Mr. Newton's presentation of it. Though St. Thomas, as far as we know, did not explicitly formulate a theory of aesthetics, the 'biggish group of philosophers gathered round him', those who went before, his contemporaries, and those who followed after in the same tradition, often did, to a greater or lesser extent. Their views may be studied in Canon de Bruyne's monumental work, *Études d'aesthétique médiévale* (Bruges, 1946; three volumes). A modern writer is Mr. E. I. Watkin in *A Philosophy of Form*. Mr. Newton might be surprised to find how well his views on the nature of beauty fit in with theirs.

May one say again that after the reader has cleared the hurdle of the Introductory chapter and after his resentment at the scurvy treatment accorded to St. Thomas has cooled down, he will greatly enjoy this lively and informative book.

T. P. Dunning, C.M.

Studies in Philosophy

A STUDY IN MEMORY. E. J. Furlong. Edinburgh: Nelson. 12*s*. 6*d*. 110 pp.

Professor Furlong's gifts of gentle persuasion and elegant exposition are seen at their best in this essay, in which the sharp corners of a rigidly logical argument are smoothed by felicitous language.

He is concerned with such questions as:—Do we trust our memories? What right have we to do so? What do we remember when we use our memories? How do we remember? In the course of his treatment of such problems some very interesting points are made. We were particularly struck by the chapter devoted to a dialogue with a sceptic—a happy thought, this, from a professor of philosophy in Berkeley's College.

The problem of the trustworthiness of memory (of memory as such, not of my memory, which may be defective, or of a particular "memory" I may have, which may be deceptive) is part of the wider question of the nature and validity of knowledge. If memory is not trustworthy, can any knowledge be relied upon as true? And conversely, if knowledge itself is not attainable and valid, is there any point in speculating on the trustworthiness of memory? This is not said by way of criticizing Professor Furlong's position, but rather with a view to indicating the importance of the points made on pages 64–69. According to Professor Furlong, "it is by reference to experience that our trust in memory is produced" (p. 70). This, I think, is undoubtedly true. But this is not quite the same thing as saying "it is by reference to experience that our memory is made trustworthy." In other words, the trustworthiness of memory is one thing, the fact that I trust my memory can be quite a different thing. The point may be made clearer by considering Professor Furlong's argument (p. 66) that "memory passes our common-sense test for reliability: its information is dependable; and that is the characteristic of a reliable witness." The trustworthiness of a witness is *recognized* when his information is dependable, but it is not *constituted* by this. He *is* trustworthy for reasons other than

those which lead me to trust him. The crux of the whole problem is ably and frankly recognized by Professor Furlong when he says : " The very terms of our problem require an appeal to memory. We cannot validate memory without assuming memory." Is it legitimate in philosophy to ask a question (e.g. " Is memory reliable?") such that the answer must be presupposed not only before it is given, but even before the question is asked ? The reliability of memory is presupposed (and the author recognizes this) in the very fact that I use words, whose " meaning " I remember, in framing the question.

It seems to me, however, that Professor Furlong, like Professor Bartlett in his classic *Remembering*, uses memory in too wide a sense. The knowledge of " praeterita ut praeterita " is somehow different from the mere knowledge of praeterita. The latter in a sense covers everything I know, but the former are what I remember. The question asked by St. Thomas : " Utrum memoria sit in intellectiva parte animae ", is especially relevant in this connection.

Professor Furlong is to be thanked for a work which professional philosophers and others will read with keen intellectual enjoyment.

E. F. O'DOHERTY

ARISTOTLE'S SYLLOGISTIC from the Standpoint of Modern Formal Logic. By Jan Łukasiewicz. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1951. 141 pages. 15*s*.

THE Preface of this book is signed : J. Ł., Dublin, 7 May, 1950. It is an unusual book and for Dublin an unusual signature. The story may be gathered from the Preface.

Professor Lukasiewicz is a Polish refugee, a Professor of Logic. " In June, 1939 I read a paper at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow on Aristotle's syllogistic. A summary of this paper was printed in the same year, but could not be published because of the war. It appeared after the war, but was dated ' 1939 '. During the summer of 1939 I prepared, in Polish, a more detailed monograph on the same subject, and I had already received the proofs of its first part when in September the printer's office was completely destroyed by bombing and everything was lost. At the same time my whole library together with my manuscripts was bombed and burnt. It was impossible to continue the work during the war."

Hints of the rest of the story are given by the list of names of those who helped the author in various places and in various ways. " Not till ten years later did I get a fresh opportunity to take up my investigations into Aristotle's syllogistic, this time in Dublin, where since 1946 I have been lecturing on mathematical logic at the Royal Irish Academy. At the invitation of University College, Dublin, I gave ten lectures on Aristotle's syllogistic in 1949, and the present work is the result of those lectures."

Logic is a highly developed subject, going far beyond what the uninitiated suspect when they " try to be logical ", or even the semi-initiated who can construct a syllogism under pressure. Most of the book, in spite of a remarkably clear style, will thus be difficult for the general reader. But for the student of Aristotle and the student of logic there is much here that is new and of very real interest.

The work is confined to non-modal or ' assertoric ' syllogisms, since the theory of these syllogisms is in the author's view the most important part of Aristotelian logic. A systematic exposition of this theory will be found in chapters 1, 2 and 4–7 of Book I of the *Prior Analytics*. The author (page 27) adopts the hypothesis

of Father Bochenski, O.P., who has argued that Book I, chapter 7 and Book II, chapter 1 of the *Prior Analytics* were composed by Aristotle later than the systematic exposition given in chapters 4–6 of Book I.

Professor Lukasiewicz has divided his book into two parts: an historical part (Chapters I—III) and a systematic part (Chapters IV and V). In the first part he aims at detecting the various alterations made by later writers in Aristotle's doctrine. Going back to Aristotle himself, he here tries to "build up the original system of the Aristotelian syllogistic on the lines laid down by the author himself, and in accordance with the requirements of modern formal logic." Both "logicians who come from philosophy" (notably Prantt and H. Meyer) and "logicians who come from mathematics" have, he demonstrates, strayed from the true path.

In the historical part Professor Lukasiewicz expounds the main Aristotelian doctrines, following the texts as closely as possible; but he is always anxious to explain them from the standpoint of modern formal logic. In his view there is no trustworthy modern exposition of the Aristotelian syllogistic. "Until now all expositions have been written not by logicians but by philosophers or philologists who either, like Prantl, could not know or, like Maier, did not know, modern formal logic. All these expositions are in my opinion wrong. I could not find, for instance, a single author who realized that there is a fundamental difference between the Aristotelian and the traditional syllogism. It seems to me therefore that my own exposition is entirely new."

The most obviously new conclusion in this exposition of Aristotle's doctrine is the substitution of the "genuine Aristotelian syllogism" for the one usually given as Aristotelian in the text-books. The familiar traditional form is: "All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal". In his *Prior Analytics* (I. 4, 25b 37) Aristotle formulates his syllogism as follows: "If A is predicated of all B, and B is predicated of all C, then A is predicated of all C." At first sight there seems to be no important difference. Yet (with the author's help) we note the absence of any singular proposition; the use of the conjunctions 'if' and 'then'; the use of letters or abstract terms, A, B, C, instead of concrete terms like 'men', 'mortal'; and the relative positions of subject and predicate. It is a pleasure to read the author's discussion of the history and significance of each change. He makes it very clear that the reasons "tradition" had for changing them were not the best logical reasons.

In the systematic part Professor Lukasiewicz tries to explain those theories of modern formal logic which are necessary to an understanding of Aristotle's syllogistic; and also to complete this syllogistic on the lines laid down by Aristotle himself. Students of mathematical logic will not need to be told that Professor Lukasiewicz was for twenty years before the outbreak of war the chief organizer and central figure in an important Polish school of mathematical logic. What he has to say in the second part of this book is thus of unusual interest, for it is rare to find a modern logician who combines a sound knowledge of Greek and a trained critical faculty with an easy mastery of the very complicated technique of modern formal logic. Here, as in Part I, the author's singular clarity of exposition makes easier what must be at best an exacting test for any reader who is not familiar with the more recent developments of mathematical logic. But Professor Lukasiewicz makes it plain that Aristotle remains 'the master of all who learn' in this most exact science; and his book will stimulate classical scholars to re-examine their traditional understanding of the master's teaching.

JOHN HYDE

YOUTH IN TWO CITIES

THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER. By T. Ferguson and J. Cunnison. Published for the Nuffield Foundation by Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press. 1951. 8*s.* 6*d.*

EIGHTY THOUSAND ADOLESCENTS. A Study of Young People in the City of Birmingham, directed and described by Byran H. Reid, B.D. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1951. 12*s.* 6d.

YOUTH, it has been said, is the new privileged class in Britain. Certainly the accent of much British post-war thought and legislation has been strongly on the younger generation. Large sums of money have been allocated to all kinds of youth work—palatial schools have been built; Schools Medical Officers and Vocational Guidance Officers have been appointed and Juvenile Advisory Committees have been set up to guide those at school and those leaving school in their studies and in their choice of employment; numerous generously financed and fully staffed Youth Clubs and Youth Centres have been established throughout the country in order to ensure that the leisure time occupations of youth will be both pleasant and profitable.

However, despite this varied, extensive and expensive social action, and its considerable creditable results, a number of impartial students of social and educational matters consider that the present situation calls for caution and for concern rather than for complacency. In this regard the most important of a number of interesting findings in a study of Glasgow boys undertaken by T. Ferguson, Professor of Public Health, University of Glasgow, and J. Cunnison, Director of Social and Economic Research of the same University, is that material improvement and spiritual impoverishment may exist side by side.

The results of this three year survey have now been listed, tabulated and commented upon in considerable detail in *The Young Wage-Earner*. The authors present a record of 1,300 Glasgow boys—their family, home and social conditions; their physical, scholastic and personal qualities as assessed at the time they left school; their health, industrial progress and leisure interests throughout the period of the survey (January 1947 to January 1950). It must be kept in mind that the findings represent the interpretations of the observations on, and the experiences of, only a limited group of Glasgow boys. The authors confined their investigation to those who left school at the earliest permitted age (14 years), under conditions of full employment—85 per cent of the group went straight to their first job without the loss of a day's work. The survey does not deal with rural youth nor do the authors claim that it is fully representative even of city youth; it deals with only 75 per cent of the age group since the other 25 per cent chose to continue at school after their fourteenth birthday, and so were excluded from the survey; also excluded were those receiving special training in approved schools, and those suffering from physical and mental disability (500 of whom leave special schools yearly at the statutory age of 16 years). However, although the sample is not random, nor comprehensive, nor fully representative, it is a selection which embraces the majority of the age group. Though the book is not unduly long (190 pp.) many interesting correlations (e.g. school performances and family back-ground; attitude to work and employment; delinquency and social and environmental factors) are examined and presented in simple statistical form.

Some striking figures of personal loss and physical wretchedness are brought forcibly to light. Ten per cent of these boys had already lost their fathers through death; five per cent had lost their mothers; one boy in every five came from a home from which one or both parents were absent. The majority lived in Glasgow

tenements of varied quality, and one boy in every three lived in a home where conditions of crowding were worse than three persons to a room. These inadequate conditions were usually found in one and two-roomed homes in the poorer districts.

It is not surprising to find that there was a correlation between the physical and scholastic assessments and home conditions ; between character, employment and family back-ground ; between the non-attenders at Evening classes or Youth Clubs and the most frequent cinema-goers and job-changers. It is pleasing and encouraging to note the sound sense with which many chose (and later changed) their employment. The expressed preferences of approximately 50 per cent were motivated by " the interest of the work "—and this, in some cases, despite wages comparatively low for their scholastic, social and physical assessment. The same enlightened attitude was shown in a good many instances when a change of job took place. This occurred on an average of once per year per boy, and the predominant reason in the majority of cases suggested such serious purpose as entrance to apprenticeship, promotion or improvement in prospects.

It is surprising and somewhat disturbing to find that despite the considerable efforts of the city authorities in the re-housing of the slum-dwellers those boys who were effected by this change, although showing some improvement in physique, showed little or no advance in the other matters under consideration. Improvement in outlook and behaviour did not keep step with improvement in housing, height and weight. Those favoured youths became bigger, but not better, boys. The figures dealing with delinquency show that the social and industrial misfits, although better housed and schooled than their fellows, were still pathetically lacking in proper guidance and leadership. Their material uplift without spiritual progress brought many of them frustration and shame, rather than contentment and self-respect. This aspect of the report merits considerable study by social workers and also—since the transferred slum-dwellers were removed en bloc to separate housing estates—by town-planners and by municipal authorities.

Though its findings are not of general applicability, this record contains much interesting material. The reliability and value of the conclusions which the authors, and which the readers, extract from the figures will be proportionate to the caution with which the stated limitations of the survey are kept in mind.

Eighty Thousand Adolescents is the title of a book giving the findings of another three year survey which, while keeping the spotlight on youth, changes the scene from Glasgow to Birmingham. This thought-provoking, well presented, finely illustrated report brings the reader into much closer contact with the city's youth organizations and with the individual members of these organizations.

The wide variety of, and the sharp contrasts in, the impressions received by a reading of this book justify the belief that the whole youth movement in Britain has itself, like those it seeks to serve, reached adolescence. The symptoms of this adolescence are seen in the kaleidoscopic pictures outlined for us. The whole youth organization is shown as shot through with the results of past confusions and present uncertainties ; with idealisms and achievements here and vacuities and failures there ; with some leaders and some organizations imbued with a wholesome spirit of Christian service, and with others who seem to have no higher aim than the provision of opportunities for darts and dancing. One leader on being asked what was the aim of his organization looked completely bewildered for a moment and then turned to one of his helpers with the question : " What are our aims, Bill ? Have we got any ? " The compiler of this very welcome report suggests, implicitly, that these two questions might, with profit, be directed to all individuals and groups dealing with youth.

Organizations, like individuals, cannot, of course, avoid being coloured and, to some extent, conditioned by the circumstances in which they have been brought into being: nevertheless, the negativeness (to use the mildest term) of many youth organizations cannot be excused on the grounds that they reflect the conditions of modern society. These very conditions, the indefiniteness, and to some extent the aimlessness of the youth movement as a whole are, like the unsettled conditions which characterize the individual adolescent, both a challenge and an opportunity.

Have those in authority the will to accept this challenge? Have they the wisdom to make use of this opportunity?

T. LYONS

THE BIOLOGY OF MENTAL DEFECT. By Lionel S. Penrose, M.A., M.D., with a Preface by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited. 1949. 25*s*.

PROFESSOR Penrose has achieved very successfully the purpose of this book, namely, to survey and evaluate all the results to date of scientific research into the biological factors of mental deficiency, particularly from a genetical viewpoint. Modern research has made evident the complexity of the problem, and at every point Professor Pearson shows a competent and critical judgment in estimating the value and significance of research in this field. After an opening chapter giving a short but clear and interesting account of the historical background, the author discusses the results of the best studies made into the nature and incidence of mental deficiency, the principles of classification, the methods of research into causes, particularly the genetical factors, the various types of deficiency due to dominant, recessive and sex-linked genes, the effects of superimposed mental disorders, and finally deals briefly with methods of treatment. As a survey of what has been achieved so far by research into the causes and genetics of mental deficiency, and of the lines that future research should take, the book will be very useful not only to biologists and psychologists, but also to those whose task it is to frame legislation for the care and training of defectives.

The urban and industrialized pattern of modern life, placing a premium on scholastic achievement, has focussed attention on the class of high-grade or feeble-minded defectives, and mental deficiency is now considered more from the viewpoint of social inadequacy. In this respect the feeble-minded tend to present the greater problem because of their larger numbers, the fact that the absence of physical stigmata or other obvious signs makes their detection difficult, and while they are easily led into delinquency their social inadequacy easily develops into anti-social attitudes which are hard to correct.

The question of declining intelligence in the general population has been much discussed in recent years. The fact that the feeble-minded as a class are biologically more fertile and have larger families has led many authorities to conclude that the average level of intelligence of the race must be getting lower with each generation, and eugenists have been demanding the sterilization of mental defectives as a means of halting the general deterioration of mankind. Professor Penrose shows that, while their arguments seem to have some theoretical value, there is in fact no evidence of a decline in intelligence, and on the contrary the laws of human genetics probably require a greater birth-rate of the inferior group in order to keep up the average intelligence level. Thus the results of scientific research, so far from lending support to the arguments of the eugenists, tend rather to disprove them.

DERMOT CASEY

Modern Irish Fiction

MODERN IRISH FICTION: A CRITIQUE. By Benedict Kiely. Dublin: Golden Eagle Books, Ltd. 1951. Pp. xiii and 179. 12*s.* 6*d.*

No part of Irish literature has been better served for general and specialist students than Irish theatre. For nearly half-a-century, it has had its historians and critics, its bibliographers and biographers, and its fair-minded and wrathful publicists, who together have produced a considerable corpus of useful learning, some good criticism, and a quantity of gossip. As a public thing, unlike fiction which is ultimately matter for private judgment exercised in solitude, it demanded and merited that public attention. Moreover it was blessed by the achievements of many dramatists of genius, one of whom is counted among the greatest of poets; whereas in fiction, the one writer with an international reputation was a bitter exile, banished by some dark edict of his own heart. For the student of Irish drama, then, eager to navigate on his own, the coastline is fairly well charted, the land-masses are defined, and the soundings still go on, so that only a stupid landlubber can go off his course or mistake patches of Irish mist for solid land. For the student of that other and probably larger tract of Irish literature, that is, fiction, there are only scraps of charts and unwritten lore; and he must make his landfalls on *terra incognita* with the hardihood and the pioneering spirit of an adventurer; and the nearer the adventurer comes to our own time, paradoxically the more difficult it is for him to find and keep his bearings. With such hardihood and in such a spirit, Mr. Benedict Kiely wrote his useful, serenely discursive, and witty book, *Modern Irish Fiction: A Critique.*

The usefulness and the wit of his book will not be denied, but even the most imperturbable of Irish readers may be taken aback a little by the serenity with which he states judgments and defines his acute perceptions. Such serenity as Mr. Kiely's is an unusual quality in Irish criticism which is frequently petty when it is not personal, unprincipled in the best sense of that word, and in a *folie de grandeur* harsh with minor writers though they be good. His is the serenity of the well-read critic who has the large view and, as well, the conviction that truth is ill-served by bad temper. Behind his serene judgments of Irish fiction since the War for Independence, "probably more important than Irish poetry and Irish theatre during the same period", there are also his well-founded judgments and knowledge of Irish fiction since the days of William Carleton, a writer more written about than read. He knows thoroughly what is, as it were, the unwritten prolegomena to his book—the fiction that was created in the nineteenth century out of political, agrarian and religious struggle and that preceded, though hardly influenced, the fiction of the last thirty years. Modern Irish fiction has a history behind it but no tradition. What had been accomplished by every Irish novelist from Carleton (who was for Yeats the greatest Irish novelist) to George Moore, the devoted artist who lost his *patria*, was a tradition *in posse*, potent rather by its mere presence than by its effects on later writers who were, as Irishmen are in so many things, individualists. It was a withdrawn presence to be recalled only by labour of scholarship and book-collecting, not speaking its words of authority or announcing its discoveries or defining sensibilities as did the works of Fielding and Smollet, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and Jane Austin among the English. "Most of Ireland's classical writers are neglected," writes Mr. Kiely, "not because they deserved neglect but because they had the misfortune to write for a small and not very literary people. Accidental considerations have often drawn attention to a writer who would otherwise have been included in the general neglect: with Charles Kickham it was his association with Fenian revolution; with Canon Sheehan it was the fact that a Catholic priest

was writing capable and penetrating novels." And he continues his annotated list of the illustrious but ineffectual dead with Somerville and Ross, Jane Barlow and Emily Lawless to George Moore, of whom he says: "in his own country, his artistic influence has been negligible." One might join issue with him on the assumption that lies behind his attribution of the fame of some writers to "accidental considerations". Such considerations have always and everywhere affected the repute in which writers are held, for writers and readers do not exist in an artistic cloister in which only rules of aesthetics hold good. They affect the reputation of Sartre as of Claudel, as they affected the reputations of a Dante or a Manzoni. And the austere critic's need is not to dismiss them but to include them in their proper order and hierarchy in his philosophy.

Mr. Kiely does not detach himself to play the part of the "pure" literary critic presented with a bewildering abundance of texts. "Here," he declares, "I intend only to look at modern Ireland through modern Irish prose fiction, and to consider that fiction as a revelation of the Irish mind, of the way in which certain Irish eyes, smiling and otherwise, have in the last thirty years looked upon Ireland, Europe, the world, and the soul of man. It follows inevitably from the method I have chosen that some writers will be passed over more lightly than others, not because I have taken it upon myself to consider them of less importance but because they are actually less relevant to my themes." His intention is historical and philosophical.

At the outset, two themes, or rather two aspects of the same theme, confronted him, and they might be represented by the profound questions that any serious writer might ask himself almost anywhere in his career, not so much formally and consciously perhaps as in the course and pressure of his work and in the slow settling of his mind around his particular poles of tension: Do I, or do I not, accept? Do I accept the material that is to my hand and that lies dormant inside me as unformulated and artistically unexpressed experience with all its burden of history and tradition, society and religion, its implications and contradictions and echoes? Or do I for the most part reject and manipulate the material satirically in the spirit of a reformer or with the primitive zeal of an icoloclast? Acceptance cannot be total acceptance, for a writer must select, which connotes rejection, even if only because of the physical impossibility of writing about everything; and rejection cannot be total, for something must be affirmed even by inference. The theme is universal in criticism as in creativeness. Across Mr. Kiely's period of study falls the influence of two writers, one a Corkman, the other a Dubliner; one seldom saluted for his worth, the other continually and tiresomely celebrated, and the writers are Daniel Corkery and James Joyce. Mr. Kiely's discussion in his chapter entitled "Rebels" of the minds of those two writers is illuminating, wise, sympathetic but not, of course, conclusive. As a sample, here is a passage:

> "An extreme nationalist voicing his opinions in a tavern would have passed through Corkery's mind to become hard, dignified, sombre, as elemental as the hard rocks on the coast of West Cork. In Joyce's Citizen there is no escaping the note of mockery, pleasant mockery with none of the bitterness that he reserved for the denial of the faith of his childhood, but with a Rabelaisian detachment that shows how he saw extreme nationalism as a most remarkable example of the tomfoolery of pantomiming man."

The thematic method adopted by Mr. Kiely has some obvious disadvantages as well as many merits not immediately perceptible. It makes chronological and biographical treatment impossible, for the themes that are indicated by Mr. Kiely's broad and impressionistic chapter-headings of Rebels, Peasants, Townsmen, Heroes, History, Dreams, Exiles, Lovers and Creeds, are not singly the sole provenance of any one of the writers whose work he discusses, but are interchangeable, the

common currency in large and small denominations of almost every Irish writer of fiction during the past thirty years. Mr. Kiely himself as a novelist, whose considerable contribution to Irish literature naturally goes unnoticed in his book, has been concerned with the themes of Rebels, Townsmen, Exiles, Loves and Creeds. The student, then, who wishes for the clear-cut and unstimulating guidance of a text-book will find little assistance in *Modern Irish Fiction*. The inquiring reader or the inspired teacher who turns from the lively text to the selective bibliography —in itself a revelation of achievement—will find it profitable to reflect on Mr. Kiely's statement of themes, his interweaving of them in all their variations, and in the end, on his discovery of a living, worthy, though not, perhaps, a great literature.

FRANCIS MCMANUS

SAINT KIERAN'S COLLEGE, KILKENNY. By Rev. P. Birch, M.A., Ph.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1951. 25*s*.

IN 1782 an Act of the Irish Parliament was passed "to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school, and for regulating the education of Papists." Dr. Troy, the Dominican Bishop of Ossory who was later to be Archbishop of Dublin, took immediate advantage of this Act and opened an Academy in Kilkenny from which the present Saint Kieran's College is derived. In this very useful volume Dr. Birch has gathered whatever few scraps of information can be gleaned for reconstructing the College's history during the past hundred and seventy years. The absence of systematic archives is everywhere apparent; but that is no fault of the author who has plainly spared no trouble to seek out from contemporary sources, and from the memory of a few senior past students to-day, what he needs to make a connected story of it all. In his first chapter Dr. Birch gives an interesting account of the unsatisfactory conditions under which young men had to study for the priesthood during the era of the Penal Laws. The new Academy at Kilkenny was a first step towards remedying that situation. Very soon after its foundation the storm of the French Revolution swept away the few centres of ecclesiastical education on which Irish Catholics had been dependent, and it became necessary to add senior ecclesiastical students to the boys attending class in the Academy. The inevitable result was overcrowding and inefficient teaching. The College, still in an inchoate state, was moved from one building to another in 1811 and 1814, but there was never any question of abandoning the task.

Ill-luck, or the pressure of Ireland's economic troubles, was felt again in the next generation. Dr. Kinsella, the far-seeing Bishop of Ossory who laid the foundation of the Catholic Cathedral in 1843, had begun work on new buildings for the College as early as 1836. The tragic years of the Great Famine threw all his plans into confusion. Building went on for a time, but who was to pay for the cost in a country faced with stark hunger and unemployment? Once again a recovery was made, and Dr. Birch's story brings us to another well-known name. Dr. Moran, nephew of Cardinal Cullen, became Coadjutor Bishop in 1871 and succeeded to Dr. Walsh (who had been Bishop of Ossory since 1846) in the following year. He remained in Kilkenny until 1884, when he left Ireland for Sydney. In 1878 the Intermediate Board came into existence, and Dr. Moran was perhaps the most active of all the Irish Bishops in securing Catholic support for the success of the new scheme. That the Board offered immediate and very real advantages for any school that accepted its programmes is, of course, obvious; but no student of Irish educational history can fail to see the grave draw-backs to a system which involved so high a degree of centralized control and such complete dependence

on public annual examinations. Dr. Birch has written a very interesting account of this episode in the history of St. Kieran's. Some of the comments that he quotes from contemporary records and letters show that the College staff were by no means wholeheartedly in agreement with the new policy of their Bishop. Yet, in Kilkenny as elsewhere, acceptance of the new system and the new programmes meant a step forward towards more efficient organization as well as a very real relief to the finances of the College. Dr. Birch has kept firmly to Kilkenny. Had he chosen to set this episode in its background of contemporary experience in other Irish secondary schools, he would have needed a separate volume to state his judgment on all the evidence. As it is, he has given us enough to see that Dr. Moran was an exceptionally able organizer, though not perhaps a far-seeing educational theorist.

There is another side to the history of St. Kieran's in these years of re-organization and expansion ; and it is a story of which the staff and students may well be proud. For it was in the years of Dr. Moran's rule that the College became actively identified with that missionary movement which had already found its most important centre in All Hallows, Dublin. Kilkenny, like Thurles, Waterford, Wexford and Carlow, began to encourage more and more of its students to follow the Irish Catholic emigrant overseas ; and Dr. Moran, who was soon to make for himself a new reputation as Archbishop of Sydney, was one of the prime movers in this new orientation of the College's work. Here indeed was an apostolic vocation that has had a profound influence on so much that is best in Ireland's diocesan colleges, and indeed in all her secondary schools.

Dr. Birch brings his story down to modern times, and His Lordship the Bishop of Ossory has contributed a Foreword in which he pays eloquent tribute to the valiant work of so many of his predecessors. The illustrations include portraits of Father Tom O'Shea who, with Father Matthew Keeffe his fellow-curate, founded the Callan Protection Society which gave a lead to other Tenant Protection Societies in the grim years after the Famine ; Father William Carrigan, historian of the diocese of Ossory, who was on the staff of the College for a short time ; and many of the Bishops who have done so much to make St. Kieran's as Kilkenny knows it to-day.

AUBREY GWYNN

MAY IT PLEASE THE COURT. By Eugene Sheehy. Dublin : C. J. Fallon, Limited. 1951. 10*s.* 6*d.*

ONE must be at least sixty years young to appreciate fully *May it Please the Court* and to recapture a glint of the genius and the magic of these days when Kettle's oratory charmed his listeners and when Hanna and Frank Sheehy Skeffington raised aloft the flag of Votes for Women.

The book brings back memories of Sunday nights in the closing years of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth of 2 Belvidere Place, the home of the Sheehys, to which the friends and college colleagues of the Sheehy family were welcomed with a welcome that only an Irish mother can give. There were Hanna and Margaret and Mary and Kathleen and Dick and Eugene. What a joy it was for a boarder in a Dublin Convent to be released even for a few hours into the midst of that gay and happy family where fun and frolic and affection were all that mattered.

Of James Joyce, the author says " Joyce could have been a great actor " and he describes Joyce as the " star turn "—a term unknown to Victorians and Edwardians—in the Charades and Burlesques that were a feature of these unique Sunday evening gatherings. The house was at the disposal of the actors. Nothing

was too precious if it served as a stage prop or wardrobe accessory, as a Roman toga or a lace robe. Curtains were ruthlessly taken down from the windows, rugs from the floor, pictures from the walls, so that Joyce might be suitably garbed as the Queen Mother and Willie Fallon as the Ophelia in a Hamlet Burlesque.

It is with a shock that one realizes that more than half a century has gone by since Kettle held Dublin audiences in the Antient Concert Rooms and in University College, then as now in Stephen's Green, whether he spoke on Proportional Representation or on the Irish Question. His speeches were discussed as public pronouncements of momentous significance. He was, as Robert Lynd said, " the most brilliant Irishman of his generation," brilliant in conversation, brilliant in public speech, brilliant in the written phrase . . . He always dreamed of an Ireland whose life would be identified with the life of Europe. He believed that in fighting for the soul of Europe, he was fighting for the soul of Ireland . . . He hated any nationalism that had not internationalism for its complement." His dream was " of an Ireland peopled not only by good Irish men but by good Europeans." Kettle wrote in his Foreword to *The Day's Burden*, published in 1910, " My only counsel to Ireland is, that in order to become deeply Irish, she must become European." *Pace* Strasbourg and the Council of Europe.

And with his love for Ireland, there was his passionate love of France, for the New France, la douce France, with its " intellect, family tradition, gracious manners, thrift, minute industry, a certain austere discipline of thought and with all that, an immense cheerfulness, as he writes in *The Ways of War*. " The Irish mind is like the French, lucid, vigorous and positive, though less methodical, since it never had the happiness to undergo the Latin discipline " as he writes in *A Frenchman's Ireland*.

In Chapter V of Judge Sheehy's fascinating book, we have a Judicial opinion from the author on one branch of the Junior Civil Service of his youth. He calls it *The Boredom of the Bureaucrat*, a cushy job which the successful candidate entered at an initial salary of £100 p.a., rising by annual increments of £10 to the maximum of £300. This is a Chapter that will appeal to Civil Servants, past and present : " The work was easy ; the hours were not long ; and plenty of vacation was provided. I felt, however, that no one over me had the slightest interest in my career ; and, that it mattered little whether I was very efficient at my job, or merely competent. I could rest on my oars whenever the opportunity offered. I can conceive few things more soul destroying than to have to work under such conditions ; and yet I feel sure that, even to-day, such is the fate of many white collar workers."

In his book are stories that reflect the wit and humour of the Irish Law Courts and tales, too, of his experiences as an officer in the Dublins in *The Great War*, as people of that day called it. There are excellent photographs of Kettle and Sheehy Skeffington and a most amusing caricature by Professor Thos. Bodkin of the Lord Chief Baron Palles.

May It Please the Court is too brief, but it does bring to the reader a flicker of the glow that illumined a period of Dublin life that has been allowed to pass too quickly and too silently into oblivion.

BRIGHID STAFFORD

STUDIES IN SANCTITY

THE QUEEN'S DAUGHTERS. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. London. Sheed & Ward. 1951. Pp. xi and 207. 12s. 6d.

THIS is an important book. Father Martindale has claims to be the old master of hagiography in the English tongue. Forty years ago in a pre-Strachey age *The Rime of Aloysius* fired the first shot at the hagiographer who thought that " timid

truth must needs defer to interests of piety." But *The Vocation of St. Aloysius*, a full-length study, showed that Father Martindale was no mere " debunker " of pretentious claims. A series of Jesuit biographies, studies of St. Paul and St. John, an excursion among the contemplatives, and finally his broadcast talks *What are Saints*, developed the theme of personal holiness. But with slight exceptions it was masculine sanctity he interpreted. Moreover, in this he was followed not only by Arnold Lunn and Evelyn Waugh, but also by Archbishop Goodier and Father James Brodrick in their collected lives. In the present volume, therefore, Father Martindale fills a gap, and surveys the women who have been " eminent for holiness in all ages " of the Church. It is no mere gleaning of past harvests, but rather the rich fruit of prolonged study. In one passage he notably supplements with up-to-date fact a sketch which he wrote in 1934. One recalls then such a work as Mgr. Knox's *Enthusiasm*, for here, too, one encounters an author who is drawing upon a lifetime spent with his subject, and nothing which ripe scholarship and a mature judgment could bring to the work has been wanting to illuminate a vast and noble theme.

Though the author himself tells us that the starting-place for this book was his little volume *What are Saints?* the reader need not expect a mere sequel to a best-seller. It was the special merit of those Broadcast Talks to come down to the man in the street: not even a reader was demanded, only a listener. They are the outstanding example of a gift peculiarly Fr. Martindale's, as *The Sailor's Prayer-Book* and a score of pamphlets attest, the gift of writing of the most profound spiritual things for the ignorant. The man of good will, little intelligence and less education has always been very dear to this sound scholar and original stylist.

But in the volume before us he has a different end in view, and many readers will welcome the emphasis he places on the mystical life of so many women saints, both because of his caution in dealing with " vision," " locution " and similar phenomena, and still more because of his deep sympathy with, and his power to simplify experiences but partially explicable in any words. His range is immense. He opens with a picture of Christian courage and purity devoured by the diabolic blood-lust of the pagan mob, a picture which has a horrible significance in these days of European and Chinese People's Courts with their fiendish lying and cruelty. (But Fr. Martindale will never provoke mere hate). Our own Brigid is found among her peers and the High Middle Ages are lovingly treated, for the Saints Gertrude and Mechtilde mean much to the author. So the story continues to our day. At times the prose is knotted with compression, at times there is a slip in date or grammar, but more and more the prospect widens. True, in the last section there are, as the author feared, too many holy Foundresses. True, there are big gaps—St. Joan he thinks too well known, St. Teresa too great to receive any treatment, and he finds St. Brigid of Sweden's troubles too interesting to mention her part in developing devotion to the Passion (though this is the point about her which her Collect stresses), St. Bernadette gets only a paragraph of mere synopsis, and one has to remember that this same author wrote a charming biography of her.

It is characteristic of the book that though it has used the classic sources and notably the *Acta Sanctorum*, the writings of Bremond and of Thurston, there have flowed into its stream too many tributaries for acknowledgment or even plan. It is a fault that *pietas* to place, person or work has often found a few lines for the mere mention of some revered figure, treated too briefly to do them or the author justice. On the other hand, many of the notes are charming, and by following his predilections, the author has left us inimitable sketches of such souls as St. Catherine of Genoa, St. Frances de Chantal, and the apostolic nuns of our own age, those mothers in God, St. Francesca Cabrini, B. Anne Marie Javouhey, B. Philippine Duchesne.

There is no padding at all. On the contrary, many pages are over-packed. But perhaps a complete elimination of the general history, which in any case has usually to be supplied by the reader, might have left a little more elbow-room. Especially is this the case, since the author is least happy in his historical generalizations. It is simply not true that " Autocracy does not know what to do, when it encounters firmness joined with humility " ; and the sentence as it stands makes hard reading for Papists. Nor is it true in any accepted sense of the terms that " the spiritual life can alone civilize " ; nor can one agree with the still more surprising statement that a soul can be " advancing in virtue but not in the spiritual life." But these are small defects in a work which has a thousand merits. It would be quite unfair to seek for Sts. Margaret Mary and Louise de Marillac, and not be grateful for Mde. Acarie or the chimney-sweep who started Mdlle. Marguerite d'Arbouze on her glorious path.

This is a very personal book, even though it is about so great and a universal subject. Certainly no one but Fr. Martindale could have written it ; and it is all the better for that. It is a long road back to the time when C.C.M. was a signature to compare with G.K.C., and the author might have stolen from Mr. Belloc the title of " the most brilliant young man in England." But even to an Irishman, who must regret the absence of Mothers Nagle, Ball, Aikenhead, McAuley and Beale (she was English) in any survey of valiant Foundresses, this book will not only call up memories of past achievement, but gives new cause for gratitude. It is, we repeat, good Martindale ; and there has never been anything better in English hagiography.

M. Bodkin

THE ASCENT TO TRUTH. By Thomas Merton. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1951. 18*s*.

In *Elected Silence* Thomas Merton told his life's story up to his entrance into the Cistercian abbey at Gethsemani, Kentucky, in his twenty-sixth year. It was a small slice of life to which to devote a considerable book ; most men are only beginning their real life at twenty-six. Moreover, the story he had to tell was a conversion to the Catholic Faith and a call to a contemplative life—themes, one would think, not likely to excite much interest in the ordinary reader. Yet *Elected Silence* has had a phenomenal success at first in America and then in Europe ; over seven hundred thousand copies were sold in a few years ; and it was translated into most of the European languages. The reason for this unexpected popularity is that the book is very well written. Thomas Merton is a writer of true distinction ; he has the rare gift of being able to convey his experience in a way that is fresh and moving, in a style that is exact and cultured, that is crisp and vivid without being clever or flashy. By competent and judicious critics the book has been hailed as one of the great religious biographies of our time. It is certainly a triumph of style that a book on such a theme should have made such an impression on a world that has very little interest in the contemplative life.

With the author's entry into Gethsemani it would seem as if his life were ended —at least the life that could be chronicled for the world. There were no further adventures except those encountered by the soul on the ascent to truth. But there was one thing that could be done, which might even be expected from him in his monk's cell ; having excited an interest in the contemplative life by his own sensational entry, he might well go on to explain to the world outside what precisely is the contemplative life. *The Ascent to Truth* may be considered as the logical complement to *Elected Silence*. It is a study of the mystical teaching of the greatest of the mystics St. John of the Cross, in the framework of the teaching of St. Thomas.

There is nothing personal or autobiographical in this book, except that now and then in the exposition of theological truth a note of personal experience and conviction can be felt. The book is meant to be a systematic treatise of mystical theology which deals principally with the earlier stages of the contemplative life, and brings into particular relief the principles and foundations on which orthodox Catholic mysticism is based. It must be admitted that it does not make easy reading, even for the initiated reader ; but the distinction of style which marks *Elected Silence* is visible on every page ; and it is a rare pleasure to read a theological treatise which is crisply and luminously written.

It should be noted that Thomas Merton does not write merely for professional contemplatives ; he writes for all men because contemplation belongs to the vocation of man, who was made by God, to His own image and likeness, and has God as his last end. Man will then find his eternal peace and rest only in the possession of God. Now God is Truth, and consequently man who is an intellectual being, whose chief activity is intellectual, is destined for the contemplation of that Truth, for the possession of God by his intellect. But as it is only in Faith that man can know the inner, supernatural, life of God, all contemplation of God in this life must be in Faith. In his explanation of Faith the author insists strongly that Faith is essentially reasonable, that it is not a blind assent, given under some non-rational pressure, but is an acceptance of truth for the best of reasons, on Divine authority. He shows that all along the different stages of the soul's assent there is need of the activity of reason in guiding, judging, and in the " discretion of spirits ". He has no difficulty in showing that the view which shows contemplation as something essentially unintellectual, as an uncontrolled abandonment to blind forces, psychological or otherwise, is certainly not the Catholic one ; that on the contrary Catholic mysticism is essentially intellectual, that it is essentially knowledge, even if blind or dark knowledge, and as such is the work of the intellect.

But a still more important aspect of mysticism is brought into relief. The general estimate of mysticism by non-Catholics is that it is in some way incompatible with dogma, that it rejects the formal traditional teaching of the Church ; that by it the soul finds its own individual way to God. In this view the mystic is a rebel, a lonely pioneer, one who has absolved himself from authority and external guidance. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The dogmas of the Church, the statements in which it has expressed the revelation of Christ, are true in what they say of God ; they can never be discredited or falsified. Christian mysticism must then start from dogma, must never depart from it ; in fact it will progress only to a fuller, deeper knowledge of dogma through the greater power given to the intellect by the mystical grace.

In his account of the stages by which the contemplative will ascend to this higher knowledge—the systematic asceticism which is the starting point, the deeper purifications of the senses and the soul in the dark nights, the growth of a knowledge which is dark and blind, the cooperation of the natural powers with the supernatural aids given by God, especially the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the author follows St. John of the Cross closely. In this portion of the work he expresses his deep indebtedness to M. Jacques Maritain.

After all that has been written on mysticism in recent years, there is room and welcome for a book that is exact and systematic, that is devotional and well written ; and it can be said with truth that it would not be easy to find a more satisfactory introduction to this great subject than *The Ascent to Truth.*

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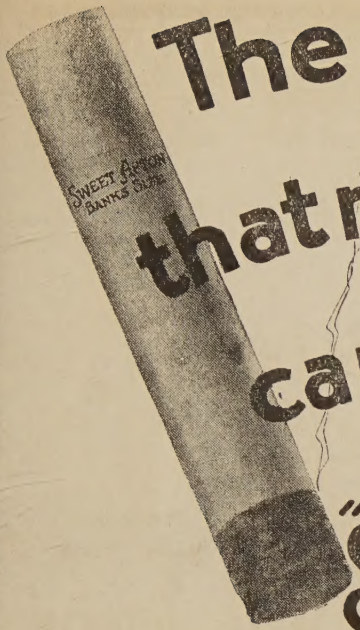

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